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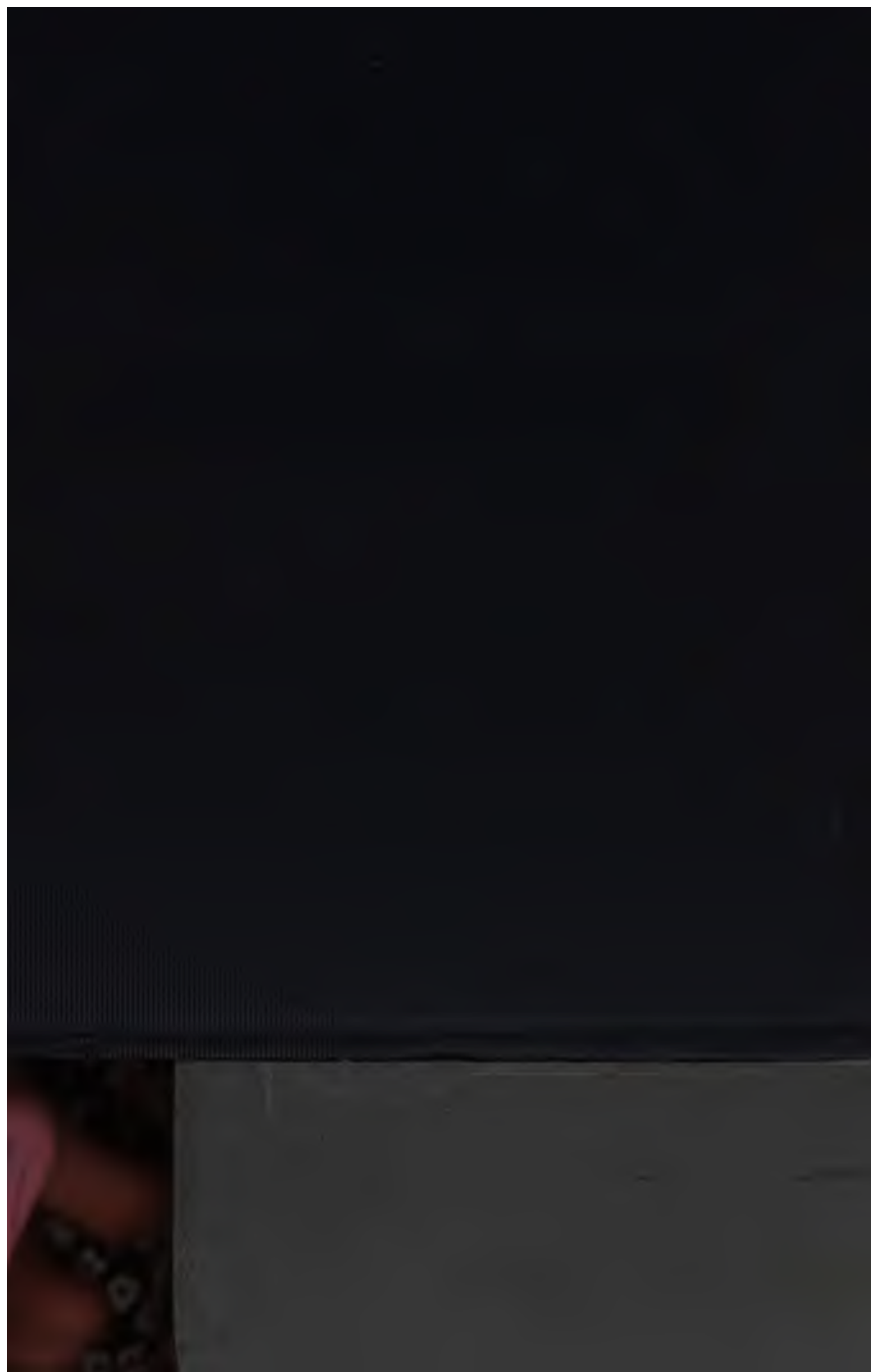
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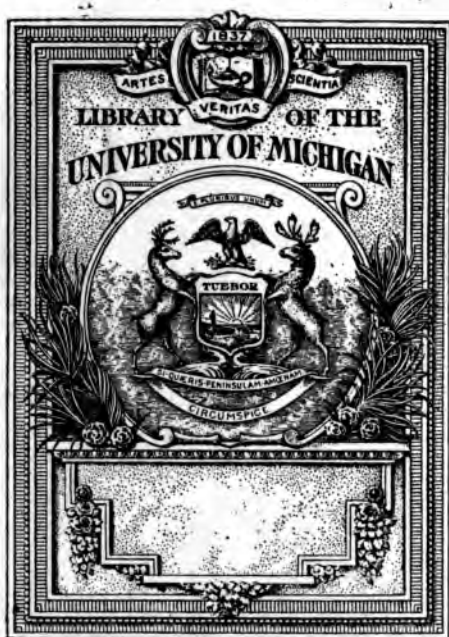
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The Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics and Sociology

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Edited by RICHARD T. ELY, PH.D., LL.D.
Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin

**THE VISION FOR WHICH
WE FOUGHT**

**THE CITIZEN'S LIBRARY OF ECONOMICS
POLITICS AND SOCIOLOGY**

EDITED BY

RICHARD T. ELY, PH.D., LL.D.
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THE VISION FOR WHICH WE FOUGHT

A STUDY IN RECONSTRUCTION

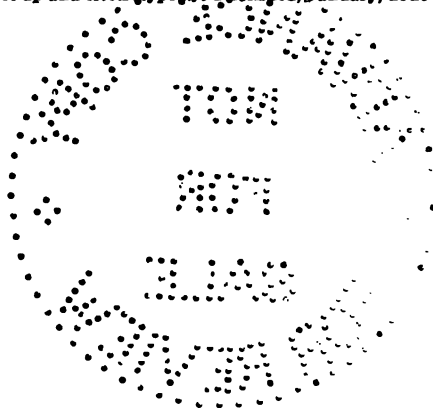
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PREFACE

This book was written because the writer believes that the problems of peace call for a greater crusade than the one that rallied millions to the battlefields to crush autocracy. In so far as they are suitable all the enthusiasm, institutions, material and persons mobilized to win the war should now be mobilized to fight ignorance, poverty, disease and social injustice.

This book does not so much advocate a program as postulate problems which the war has created and indicate the means evolved, during the war, for their solution. The writer's social theories have been kept in the background. Only those changes have been suggested that grow naturally out of the methods of fighting the war.

A social transformation came during the war. It came largely because of the methods of fighting the war, which created a deep social solidarity and formed the instruments by which to apply social forces to the accomplishment of common ends. Such a development forecasts great democratic

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Preface

advances. This little volume calls attention to the unity in this development. Its theme is that in mobilizing and organizing society for war social forces and institutions were given a common direction, and that action consciously in agreement with that trend renders great progress possible with a minimum of friction.

The facts upon which conclusions are based are drawn almost exclusively from official reports of war activities in the countries involved. This was supplemented with rather extensive personal consultation with the persons connected with war activities in England, France, Belgium and Italy. So rapid are the changes that a bibliography would be out of date almost before publication. Some sources that will remain of permanent value are the "Official U. S. Bulletin," "The U. S. Employment Service Bulletin," the reports of the War Labor Board and other war organizations and, especially, the reports of the British Reconstruction Committees.

To give credit to all from whom suggestions and information have been received would involve a list embracing men and women in most of the Allied nations. The aid and advice given by Dr. Richard T. Ely, editor of the *Citizen's Library*,

Preface

is, however, so much greater than that of any other single person that it should receive the especial mention that is here gladly given.

A. M. SIMONS.

Milwaukee, Wis.,
December, 1918

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THE VISION FOR WHICH WE FOUGHT

CHAPTER I

THE VISION FOR WHICH WE FOUGHT

SINCE August, 1914, the world has been watching the death of a whole social system. It is just beginning to glimpse the growth of a new society. This revolution is more fundamental than any yet recorded. It touches deeply every social institution. The industrial foundation of society has been transformed in almost every feature. Natural resources, trade routes and methods of transportation, the management of business, finance, markets, competition, profits, supply and demand—all the elements and relations of industrial life, have been blown to pieces by the explosives of warfare. We have been hastily rearranging them to meet the new duties and demands that a life and death conflict between world-embracing social systems requires.

Out of these changes and out of the issues of

the war and the very methods of fighting, and now from the faith in the result and the conscious planning of reconstruction, is growing the vision of a new world. The lessons of warfare, the assemblage of and care for armies, the mobilization of nations behind the fighting line, the organization of half the world for a common purpose, the very tactics of the war, the common mind forged in the heat of battle, the incomprehensibly great financial and mechanical operations of war—all these have filled the minds of the people with a vision of hitherto impossible things that can be done when democracies once more take up their works of peace.

The war has continued until the common direction of the changes that accompany it is visible. The new elements are rearranging themselves and crystallizing into a social vision, whose very outlines, though still dim and shifting, are sufficiently clear to rally the forces of democracy and weld them into an irresistible force. This vision was the most effective weapon of the free peoples that fought Prussian autocracy. Just in the degree that the great mass of mankind came to see the full outline of this vision that arose out of the smoke of battle did the war take on the character

of a great crusade for which mankind gave, as it has always gladly given for such visions, its final drop of devotion.

This vision came and grew with the war. In the first days only Germany had a clear vision of that for which she was fighting. This was a part of her thorough preparation for war. Her rulers had given this as careful attention as any of the many items of her proposed buccaneering expedition.

Her trained sketchers of visions had drawn all the specifications. The idea of a "place in the sun," of "Mittel-Europa," of the Berlin-Bagdad railway, of colonial expansion had been exhibited to each section of her population in the light that brought out the thing most desired by each one. Junkers, merchants, bankers, shippers, manufacturers and workingmen were each made to see the realization of their hopes in this one vision.

The caste system of education, *realpolitik* in the universities, the controlled press and news agencies and the bribed and tamed working class, were all essential to the preparation and dissemination of the vision. So far had this process gone that the vision came to be but Germany's domestic system writ large. The position which the Kaiser

occupied by divine right within the German empire was to be occupied by that empire, by virtue of the divine right of German racial superiority, in a world of subject nations.

This common vision was not the least of the advantages possessed by Germany during the first years of the war. The common fears and common hopes springing from it gave a unity of mental action on "inside lines" almost as important as the unity and rapidity of troop movements on her shuttling railways.

It relieved Germany of the need of a domestic propaganda to explain war aims. She had only to distribute the material already prepared for such an emergency, assured that it would find receptive acceptance in the minds of her people. By thus releasing all her propaganda resources for offensive purposes she was able to follow her great rule of military strategy—always to make war upon enemy territory and to disregard the rights of neutrals.

No such unity of vision existed among the Allies. As a result there was an almost fatal lack of unity in action. The common people of democratic nations have mostly passed the age when they can be attracted by imperialistic visions. It was with

great difficulty that the British people were held to the support of the Boer War, Great Britain's last imperialistic venture. The public protests against that war taught her rulers that never again could the vision of imperialism lure the British people to shed their blood. France had moved out of the stage of civilization where conquest is the road to popular favor. Italian imperialists had not come so domestically unscathed out of the Libyan war as to encourage any subsequent government to seek favor through imperialistic ventures.

In 1914 there nevertheless remained in the minds of the ruling classes of these nations some vestigial remnants of the imperialistic vision. Doubters need only turn to discussions of war aims in that now historically distant time when the war was young to realize how imperialistic ideas still dominated the public mind. Even such a democrat as H. G. Wells was concerned with remaking the map of Europe rather than its institutions, and was almost silent concerning the changes the war might bring to the social organizations of the opponents of Germany.

All the world was discussing boundaries, trade routes and colonies. Beyond dire threats to de-

throne the Kaiser there was little reference to democracies and autocracies. The contrast with to-day is but one of the many things that mark the centuries of change these few years have brought.

Such discussions barred all unity of vision, and almost of aims and action. Many little imperialisms do not make one great imperialistic vision. They create only rivalry, jealousy, suspicion and confusion. Imperialism is autocratic, militaristic, monopolistic, selfish, conflicting. Germany could divide and remain unconquered so long as her enemies dreamed only of new ways of dividing the world for the benefit of privileged classes. Unity, coöperation, victory awaited the vision of democracy.

Gradually out of the war this new democratic vision arose unifying and vivifying mankind. This vision grew as the issues of the war changed. Speaking in New York, September 27, 1918, President Wilson described this change of issues and the manner of its appearance as follows:

No statesman or assembly created them; no statesman or assembly can alter them. They have arisen out of the very nature and circumstances of the war. The most that statesmen or assemblies can do is to carry

them out or be false to them. They were perhaps not clear at the outset; but they are clear now. The war has lasted more than four years and the whole world has been drawn into it. The common will of mankind has been substituted for the particular purposes of individual states. Individual statesmen may have started the conflict, but neither they nor their opponents can stop it as they please. It has now become a people's war, and peoples of all sorts and races, of every degree of power and variety of fortune, are involved in its sweeping processes of change and settlement.

Much of the friction that crippled morale was due to the inability of statesmen to realize that this change had taken place and that the control of war had passed out of their vision and power. A few in each of the nations allied against Germany saw this vision from the beginning. But national spokesmen did not crystallize the situation into words until Woodrow Wilson said that we fought to "make the world safe for democracy."

Since then the morale of the peoples has risen just in proportion as the vision that idea suggests has grown. When that vision really entered into the common mind the war became one of those great mass crusades no power this world has known can check.

Swiftly the many harmonious elements of this

great vision are finding their place. There are dreams of poets there, and carefully thought out plans of scientists. It is full of the ideals of the masses—hopes cherished in the common mind and buried out of sight until the tumult and upheaval of war brought them into view and possibility of attainment.

It was a part of the work of fighting this war and of winning it to build this vision. The ideas and ideals of which it is composed must be sought out in the common minds and the common facts of many nations and in the effects of the conflict, and fused into some sort of unity.

The vision grew clearer as we fought our way nearer to it. Germany's ruthless rape of Belgium first roused the world's crusading spirit and gave an unselfish rallying point. This brought to the enemies of Germany those sections of the population that would have been most indifferent or actively hostile to imperialism. The lawless brigandage of the Belgian invasion decided the attitude of organized labor in England and France and brought such men as George Barnes, Albert Thomas and Jules Guesde to the support of the allied cause. Without this support in politics, in-

dustry and the trenches the war would soon have been lost.

When labor rallied to the rescue of Belgium it brought along its pre-war ideals. Henceforth those ideals were a part of the vision for which the Allies fought.

Each new evidence of Prussian brutality, arrogance and perfidy brought its corresponding reaction. Slave drives in Belgium and northern France, with their enforced labor for old men, women and children, maddened the workers of every nation but Germany. When submarine piracy found 12,000 victims in the membership of the seamen's union that organization went Berserker. When pacifists and pretended internationalists wished to parley with German governmental Socialists the seamen declared that passports stopped at the water's edge. While the submarine's victims went unavenged organized sailors refused to ride upon the same ship with delegates going to confer with those who had not protested against such outrages.

Repeated exposures of the brutal philosophy of Prussianism, emphasized by reiterated affirmation of its worst phases by Germany's authorized

spokesmen, and illustrated by military atrocities, cultivated an admiration for the antithesis of all things German. The world accepted the claim of Germany that this was a war of civilizations—of Kulturs—and is willing to accept any civilization rather than that of Germany. Because the warp and woof of German civilization is authority, autocracy, subordination and caste the rest of the world is turning to democracy and equality.

The Russian revolution, in spite of its temporary discouragements, removed the strongest autocratic influence among the Allies. That revolution contributed much to democratic idealism and also furnished some striking examples of things for democracy to avoid. The exposure of secret treaties discredited imperialistic influences in the countries involved. In so doing it gave greater power to the democratic elements in those countries. The splendid enthusiasm of the first few days of that revolution broadened the vision of democracy everywhere and brought an encouragement that was not quite erased by the pitiful collapse that followed. Even the suspicion of treachery that must always cling about the Bolsheviki has been partly lost sight of in view of the terrible, pitiless expiation exacted by Prussian imperialism.

But the foundation of this vision is not laid upon hopes and dreams, but upon the solid facts of the war itself. It is a commonplace that this was a war of vast complex civilizations, in which every resource was used and where no element of society stood apart. Such a war, in which the armed forces are but projectiles whose momentum depends upon the economic, political and moral power of the people from which they spring, compels a new orientation of every phase of society.

The strategy of the war reaches back through ships and railways and workshops to the home, church, and school and touches the most intimate habits of every citizen. The national resources are drawn up in three great lines of offense and defense: military, industrial and mental. Breaking one of these lines endangers the other two. Mobilizing all three changed the whole face and stirred the very depths of society. It tested every social institution, accustomed the world to social changes and to quick and ruthless decisions on social relations and values.

A war enlisting whole populations and straining every resource developed new capacities for solidarity and sacrifice. Because this universal effort was directed toward a common purpose the

world has gained a new vision of the possibilities of social solidarity. Never while the memory of those days remain will individual greed be so remorseless nor so completely unchecked as in pre-war days.

The discipline and comradeship of cantonment, camp and trench add their contribution, and it will be a large one. The composite thoughts evolved from the close commingling of the minds of millions of men under almost identical conditions may easily prove the dominant factor in the coming social mind. These men will have much to say about the sort of world they will live in when they return to the nations whose institutions they defended.

Because this war is fought in the mines and factories as well as in the trenches, and because the terrible expenditure of manpower raised that once cheap commodity to where it ranks above all else, labor, whose day was already in sight, finds itself in an almost dominant position. Because this war is labor's war, fought to insure those hard-won democratic institutions without which labor's struggle is hopeless, labor rallied to the battle and demanded its share of responsibility and power.

In every nation involved labor gained greatly

in influence. But the degree of that gain was in almost direct proportion to labor's own recognition of its interest in the struggle.

While war brought more power to the class of labor, it leveled distinctions within the class of workers. It brought more to the unskilled than to the skilled. It went far toward wiping out the sex line in industry. Everywhere, even to the very edge of the fighting lines, woman played a more important part in this war than in any previous one. In hospital, canteen and rest station, as well as in factory, office and mill the war brought to woman changes that a generation of peaceful development could scarcely have produced. Enfranchised, competent, self-confident woman—more numerous than men when this slaughter ends—is already sketching the part she will play in the future for which she made these sacrifices.

Because this war reached heights and depths of horrors attained by nothing else created by man, and constantly opened to the imagination new vistas of yet more horrible things that lie behind the smoke of any possible future wars, it became a war to end war. This grew to be the one common thought of the masses in the field and at home.

During a three months' trip, in the Summer of 1918, made especially to ascertain the morale and opinions of the people of England, France, Belgium and Italy, the writer found that out of all the welter and confusion of thought that is always present in vast multitudes of human beings there was one common idea, one least common denominator of all the varieties of minds. He talked with soldiers upon the transports, in the hospitals, restaurants, trains, Y. M. C. A. huts and up to the very fighting line. He inquired of all sorts of people who had a special opportunity to learn the mind of the soldiers—with officers, surgeons, chaplains, "Y" men, Salvation Army workers and Red Cross officials. Then, since when universal service prevails the army and the nation are one, these answers were checked with investigations among the laborers of the various countries. From all these diverse sources a mass of apparently conflicting opinions was received. But one statement was included in nearly every answer. All declared that this war must end war. The soldiers of the Allies fought that peace might come.

At few points was the clash of visions more sharp. Germany fought to gain a vantage point for future wars. Until defeat loomed in sight she

constantly planned in the midst of war for the next war. Her enemies were willing to expend their last resource in blood and treasure to rid the world of the spirit that looks upon each peace as a truce in which to prepare for war.

The whole substance of the things fought for is shot through with the spirit of democracy. That the people may rule in government, industry and all the relations of life, that they may attain methods and opportunity of wisely deciding and firmly and efficiently translating their decisions into deeds that bring greater freedom, opportunity and enjoyment, and that the age-long upward struggle of the race for self-expression may be won, men died as they always died for the same cause.

Just because this war is truly and fundamentally a war to "make the world safe for democracy" and to make the world in all its relations democratic, it was fought effectively only in proportion as its aims and objects were universally understood and desired. Victory has grown nearer just in proportion as peoples and resources were mobilized against autocracy. The mobilization becomes automatic in proportion as the vision of democracy becomes clear and sure. Just in proportion as they see and express this vision in

terms of the common mind do political leaders rise to the stature of seers and statesmen.

Such a war is not ended when the decision of battle has been given. It must be fought again at the peace table. The hardest battle of all will come in the years immediately succeeding the signing of peace, when all that has been fought for will be again and again put at stake.

It is because he has kept this vision steadily before him that Woodrow Wilson has been lifted up above all others in this crucial time. It is the foundation of his every speech and may be discovered in every message. He has sought to crystallize it in all the policies of his administration.

It was expressed as follows in an address by Secretary Daniels at New York:

This war has changed the fate of nations and everything old is cast away and we shall emerge a young, a new, a fresh republic, with vision to see justice more clearly than we have ever seen it in the past. Evils have grown up among us; privilege has been enthroned, and favoritism and unequal opportunity have cast a blight upon world democracy. We shall end it with this war.

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We shall never come back to old conditions. The revolution that has put the world in arms will make them

(the people) free in peace, and whatever remains here of the vestige of inequality and injustice and privilege must die in the grave with autocracy.

Once the full sweep of this vision dawns upon the peoples of the world it will engender a crusading spirit that no power can stop. Men went forth to the Great Adventure to fight a world crusade. When they laid down their arms that crusade did not end. Its objects will be sought with the same fervor in civil life. Just as the crusades of the Middle Ages ended an era, so this crusade will end an age and bring in a new world.

“Where there is no vision the people perish,” said the Hebrew prophet. Gaining a vision the people are born again.

CHAPTER II

THE INDUSTRIAL FOUNDATION

Mobilization of Industry

THE war has revolutionized industry and all the social structure built upon industry. This was inevitable where the mine and mill and the farm are the second line of offense and defense. We dare not trust our national life to an industry ruled by chaos, conflict and private ambition.

When industry is so closely identified with warfare, military forms and terms move easily back to the second line. We "mobilized" industry. Farms, factories, railways, mines, raw material and labor were formed into an industrial army and maneuvered as a general moves his military units.

We catalogue and classify the units. We take a census of everything. We grade each article and process according to its value in the general scheme of national defense. We create an administrative machinery that says to each mill, ship,

mine, farm and railway: "There is your place. Fall in. Guide right. Forward march."

In the industrial as well as the military struggle there are positions of especial strategic value. These "key industries," as they are called in Great Britain, include those producing coal, cotton, rubber, copper, wheat, meat and other vital essentials of industry. On these the whole industrial army turns. If they are broken that line must retreat or surrender.

It is impossible to organize, classify and maneuver industry without a general staff and a common mind and purpose. Such a general staff is being formed out of and by our various boards for the management of food, fuel, munitions, shipping, aviation, agriculture, labor, scientific research and priority problems. In every nation a similar system has been developed as one of the essentials of fighting. In Great Britain the fifteen commissions and eighty-seven committees that have been created to consider "questions which will arise at the close of the war" constitute the bridge that will carry this system over into peaceful times.

For the first time nations are consciously directing the processes by which they feed, clothe, house,

transport, amuse, educate and defend themselves. To be sure, conscious organization was touching some of these processes before the war. But the fundamental industrial process was most chaotic of all and transmitted that confusion to every other institution.

Industry was based upon the idea that conflict of forces produced the highest efficiency, an idea that would certainly be rejected in any other field of mechanics. The theory prevailed that the most economical way to get a thing produced was for every one who thought he could make a personal profit by so doing to set to work simultaneously trying to produce the desired article, with no common understanding, no general supervision, no directing mind and very little accurate knowledge of what was wanted.

Every warring nation was compelled to attempt to introduce some sort of system into this chaos. One of the first steps was state activity in industry. Railways, mines, shipping and the manufacture of ships, the slaughtering and packing of meat, much of marketing and large fields of manufacturing have been placed under government ownership and operation. But this direct handling is one of the least of the ways in which the state

is assuming the controlling position in industry. Priority, price limitation and control of production, sale and use are all methods by which this central directing agency is making itself felt.

To reorganize and standardize industry with an intelligent purpose requires uniformity in the units to be fitted and operated together. In industry we call this standardization. Just as in an army, guns, ammunition, rations, clothing, evolutions, march tempo and even the minds of the men must have many things in common, so in an industrial army plants and products, men, machines and processes must be standardized until they can be interchanged and fitted into a common plan. This process proceeded with revolutionary rapidity in every nation closely touched by the war.

It was a process that had been going on more slowly for a long period. The Civil War first introduced the principle of standardization into wide fields of industry. That war created the ready made clothing industry. It began the standardized manufacture of wagons, watches, canned goods, agricultural machinery and a host of other articles. We are just learning that the steps then achieved, great as they really were, formed but the alphabet of a new language in industry. Yet this

small beginning was so great an advance upon the old semi-handicraft methods as to transform the shop practice of the world and give the United States just the advantage necessary to enable it to lead the world in quantity production.

We now know that when the world war began standardization had reached only the fringe of industry. It had been applied to the various parts of certain machines. It had been introduced quite thoroughly in a few great plants. There were few plants, however, where standardization had been developed to such an extent that the entire factory could be treated like a single machine. There was little uniformity in the products of different plants. On the contrary, diversity was deliberately cultivated under the impression that peculiarity of construction, by hindering competitive copying, was a protection. Such a simple matter as screw threads had to wait for the war to secure universal standardization by act of Congress. Yet it was estimated that such action, without permanently even inconveniencing any manufacturer, and ultimately bringing profits and simpler operation to all, would result in an annual saving of labor and material of \$70,000,000.

Standardization received a great impetus when

governments began calling for vast quantities of uniform products. This left no discrimination to the producer, no opportunity to add "selling points" which served no useful purpose save to assist the salesmen in befuddling the customer. Soon "priority boards" extended standardization to the vastly wider field of production for private purchase. The number of styles of shoes, hats, trunks, stoves, furnaces, locomotives, coal, wagons and farm machinery was ordered reduced to a number from one-tenth to one-thousandth of those previously made. This was done primarily to conserve the sorely needed resources of men and material. But it had the effect of marvelously increasing productivity, reducing costs and rendering industry suitable for national or international systematization.

To mobilize industry under a single plan standardization must enter into new and higher spheres. We are standardizing ships and shipyards and the British Empire has already drawn the plans to standardize harbors, with all their wharves, cranes, channels and other appurtenances. We have standardized freight and passenger cars and locomotives, aëroplanes, submarine destroyers, motor trucks, factories and all things concerned

with all these things. We are standardizing wages, hours, and working conditions, enforcing a minimum wage and uniform standards of collective bargaining throughout the nation.

This standardization does not mean a deadly uniformity in civilization. It means uniformity in those details and common-places where diversity is but irritating friction. This uniformity forms a foundation upon which an infinitely richer individual diversity in essentials will be possible.

Such a change is not merely quantitative. We are not simply extending the old principle of standardization into new fields. A new and higher, because a more perfectly organized, stage of industry is being created. This new stage is based upon a process of manufacturing, so different from the old, that a new name, "fabrication," has been coined to describe it. The beginnings of this process were developed in the automobile industry. It consists in assembling parts from many factories into a new and complete article. Similar methods have been used for some time in building steel skeleton structures such as bridges and skyscrapers.

Selection and assemblage of parts so standardized permit almost limitless variety to be attained

in the final product. This system assumes a standardization across factory lines that could not be secured in several decades without some sort of common management. This common management the war brought.

It is this new and higher industrial organism that won the war, just as it was Germany's higher industrial systematization that gave her the advantage in the beginning. It is this system that broke all records in the making of mines and the building of airplanes, motors, destroyers and merchant ships. It was the friction of the transition from one industrial system to another that was largely responsible for delays during our first year in the war.

There are 268 firms manufacturing parts to be assembled in the "fabricating" ship plant at Hog Island. But these plants are doing similar work for other "fabricating" yards. This requires uniformity of process, shop and product as well as the integration of the parts into a new industrial organization. America was the first to enter upon this new industrial stage. That gave an advantage which turned the tide in the war. It will give this nation the lead in industry during the first years of peace.

But the United States will not enter this stage alone. Great Britain has carried the work of conscious organization of industry further than America. Her experts are already advising the adoption of this new system. They are proposing far more revolutionary movements.

One of these proposes a universal standardization of the whole problem of heat and power. A committee of the Reconstruction Ministry has already recommended that the shipment of coal within the boundaries of the United Kingdom be stopped. Coal is used only to produce energy. It can produce energy cheaper in great central electric stations than in a multitude of boilers, stoves and furnaces.

This committee of engineers and industrial organizers proposes that all the energy be produced in sixteen great power stations and then shipped over wires instead of in freight cars. It is calculated that this new integration of industry would "altogether show a possible national advantage which can hardly be put at less than £100,000,000 per annum, apart from the manufacturing and industrial advantages of a cheap and efficient electric power supply."

Such industrial methods are possible only with

central control. They are wholly incompatible with the chaotic conflict that accompanies individual direction of industry.

Competition

Industrial chaos is primarily due to profit-seeking competition. This war almost abolished the old form of competition. For two generations legislators tried to force competition where combination had proved fittest to survive. Any effort consciously to abolish competition was illegal and criminal. The war reversed this. Competition became the crime and combination the virtue. At the very beginning of the war, express companies were ordered to unite. Railroads, even before government operation, were instructed to violate the anti-pooling clause of the Interstate Commerce Act. Yet this clause was the foundation upon which the whole act and forty years of interpretation and administration were based.

Government operation wiped out all competition as foolish, wasteful and obstructive of good service. There is to be an end of comparative advertising, duplicate trains, rival ticket and freight offices, trade seeking agencies, legal representatives and legislative lobbies. Cars and en-

gines are pooled so that scarcity in one section of the country shall not coincide with a surfeit elsewhere. Can any one conceive of a public trying to restore any of these things?

Price fixing and priority orders destroyed many other phases of competition. It is no longer possible to "buy cheap and sell dear." War cannot endure the industrial motto, *caveat emptor*.

In wide fields the conditions of labor and production are so closely prescribed that the grabbing and gouging of competitive times is impossible. There is no chance for the "higgling of the market" where the whole output of an industry is taken for Government use. There can be no operation of a "law of supply and demand" where the demand is always many times greater than the supply. All these relics of the political economy of pre-war times are now found only as fossils in the legislative strata.

Industry must strip for the death struggle of war. It can no more afford the terrible wastes of competition than a racing automobile could expect to win carrying a windshield, mud-guards, fenders and extra tires. So all the old competitive methods are being discarded. New plants can be built only when needed not when profit promises.

Trade secrets are dug up and distributed to rivals. Material is obtained only on priority orders at prices fixed by the state. Capitalists cannot bid freely for capital, raw material or labor, nor charge what the market might be willing to give for the finished product.

Invention

Nowhere was competition supposed to be so essential as in encouraging invention. Nowhere was competitive incentive keener than in the new industry of gas engines and automobiles. Yet it was just here that it was most quickly discarded. Instead the coöperative effort of unpaid engineers was invoked. The result was the "Liberty" motor and truck, admittedly the greatest achievement in this field and also one of the greatest contributions of America's inventive genius to the war.

It has been the same in every field. Depth bombs, tanks, gas masks, the marvels of aviation, all mark the most intense display of inventive genius the world has ever known. Yet not one of these things was produced as a result of a competitive conflict for profit.

To be sure, the trusts could have taught us, if we had but listened to their teachings, that the

day has passed when half-starved geniuses, under the spur of poverty, lead inventive progress. Inventors are now highly trained specialists equipped with elaborate technical laboratories. Such are Edison, Bell, Steinmetz and the others whose names are most frequent upon the rolls of the patent office, or are concealed behind the names of the corporations by which they are employed.

Germany's industrial progress was due to her many scientists who could be hired to try countless experiments at wages an American mechanic would despise. All nations are now awake to the fact that henceforth the borderlands of industry, like those of chemistry, physics, astronomy and philosophy—to which they are very near neighbors—will be explored and charted by bodies of organized scientists proceeding by the same methods by which original research is conducted in other lines.

The nature of this war compelled intensive invention. It was a war of scientists, mechanics and engineers. New agents of destruction followed each other in confusing and horrible rapidity. Each was met with a new and effective defense. The whole technique of warfare was revolution-

ized constantly. Under this fearful pressure mobilized inventive skill produced instruments of destruction and defense more marvelous than ever attained by the machinery of industry. A modern warship, whether dreadnaught, destroyer or submarine, is perhaps the most perfectly adapted mechanical structure man has yet produced. An aëroplane, with its synchronized machine gun—itsself a mechanical marvel—firing between the blades of a propeller, while the whole moves forward at the rate of 150 miles per hour, is a miracle of delicately adjusted machinery such as is found in no factory mechanism. There are few as perfect machines as the French “seventy-five.” Its recoil mechanism requires a jeweler’s skill to repair. Its fuse alone would be a triumph of the watch-maker’s art. Yet these fuses are made and fired by millions in the destructive pressure of war.

This height of perfection in military tools was attained through mobilized invention. It could not have been reached otherwise. A general staff of able experimental engineers—the new type of inventor—divides and subdivides the work and assigns the problems. The laboratories of the universities and experimental stations, with their

corps of trained investigators, are then organized with a great army of workers and volunteer seekers after new ideas. The whole forms an irresistible army of invasion prepared to enter into the unknown lands that lie beyond present achievements and bring back their captives,

Such an army has been mobilized in the United States around the Board of Scientific Research. When the history of this war is written, the work of this board will rank alongside that of the army general staff as contributing to the victory over the Central Empires.

Similar and greater triumphs will come in times of peace if we but apply the lesson the war has taught. The English Reconstruction program is preparing for this. Its Commission on Scientific and Industrial Research includes twenty committees covering almost every field of human activity. On these committees are to be found the foremost scientists of the British Empire. Henceforth they will direct the army of industry in its battle against poverty, incompetence and inefficiency.

Every nation will soon have the same sort of an industrial staff to solve the problems that nature sets. It is unthinkable that such a staff should work for private profit, or that the fruits of its

labors should be used to exploit any section of the people. Such inventions are due to social effort. They must remain social property to be used for the common good.

The Profit Incentive

For more than a century private profit has been considered the great incentive to efficient management. To the man who through individual initiative secured possession of the tools of industry and used them to organize production society gave its richest rewards.

In mobilizing industry for war this old incentive of private profit was displaced by that of social service. But yesterday political economists made profit the foundation of industry. It was the one sure sign of individual success and the certain road to popular approbation. To-day, profiteer is an epithet and profiteering a crime. So far from depending upon private profit as the driving force in industry we now consider it a brake upon the wheels and something that cannot be endured in war. We measure success in industrial mobilization almost exactly by the degree to which the profit element is eliminated.

The greatest and most dangerous work of all—

the actual fighting—brings only suffering and sacrifice. The lines to which the next highest honor is granted, the Red Cross and all the other host of volunteer war activities, are not entered upon for profit.

The draft boards, medical boards, and all the multitudinous semi-governmental activities are maintained almost entirely by volunteer workers. We have learned that, even in the purely industrial fields, just those persons who have been supposed to be moved only by desire for personal profit will for a "dollar a year" give a service that cannot be purchased with many times that sum as salary. Not that there are no dangers to a society that depends upon services for which it does not pay, and from those who receive their major income from private sources. Such a situation is not democratic to say the least. But it does supply a crushing reply to those who hold that industrial machinery can be driven only by the profit motive.

It would be foolish to have our heads so high in the clouds as to overlook the existence of atavistic creatures to whom this cosmic extremity is but a personal opportunity for profit. Much of the friction, waste and delay in the crisis was due to the necessity of removing such vestigial organs from the industrial structure.

These things the war has done for industry.

It has given a unity which they never knew before to the great industrial processes upon which the life of society depends.

It has made of industrial progress a scientific social problem and developed some of the machinery for its solution.

It has temporarily at least partially removed the element of private gain as the dominant incentive and replaced it with the motive of the common good.

Upon these foundation stones a new society can be built.

But it still remains to be built.

CHAPTER III

GROWING POWER OF LABOR

THE most fundamental social change produced by this war is the transference of power from the possessing to the producing class.

In western nations the nineteenth century was the era of the rise and rule of the industrial capitalist. That class committed suicide in the great war. As it dies power in democratic nations is passing to labor. This change is not best shown in Bolshevik uprisings and subsequent chaos. The American and the English revolutions have been more thorough-going than the Russian. This will be evident within a few years, just as it is now plain that the English Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century was more fundamental than the French upheaval it preceded and portended.

The overthrow and execution of the Czar is less pregnant with promise of power to labor than the appearance of Lloyd George to explain British war aims to a trade union conference. It is far less significant than the acts and policies of

the War Labor Board and the Department of Labor in the United States, or the identity of President Wilson's war aims with those of the Inter-Allied Socialist Conference.

This increased power of labor grows inevitably out of the character of the war. That mobilization of industry, which has been the foundation of warfare in every nation, forced the admission of labor to a large share in the management of all things concerned with the war. The organization of production presupposes organization of producers. Labor had already consciously organized itself in unions. In a democracy no other organization could be forced upon labor.

An autocracy might conscript labor and force it to produce for a private employer. No nation fighting "to make the world safe for democracy" would dare suggest such a policy. In England, France, Italy, America and the self-governing British colonies labor will form and control its own organization. This was true before the war. It has grown more indisputable every day since August, 1914.

In every warring nation there was some sort of truce in the industrial conflict. In some nations a formal *union sacre* or labor truce was signed for

the period of the war. The first term of that truce, whether written out or not, was always that no individual profit was to be drawn from the common sacrifice. Any employer who becomes a profiteer, drawing additional gain from the nation's extremity, makes of such a truce a "scrap of paper." Yet most of the talk of the treason of organized labor comes from those who tried to do just this thing.

This was the basis of the famous labor truce in England. It was not written in the terms, but it was the spirit of the whole "Munition Act." Labor freely laid upon the nation's altar the fruits of almost a century's sacrifice and struggle. It agreed to surrender the weapons by which it had won added years to the lives of its members and brought some measure of joy, health and safety into those lives. It generously surrendered the armament necessary to the class war: the control of trades, the privilege of skill and the multitude of shop rules by which its gains were obtained and held.

It was understood in return that employers should not take advantage of this voluntary disarmament. Almost every labor struggle in Eng-

land during the war came because of a violation of this agreement.

In the United States the officials of the American Federation of Labor pledged the workers to the same policy. In a statement, issued March 19, 1917, before the declaration of war, the policy of organized labor was set forth as follows:

In the struggle between the forces of democracy and special privilege, for just and historic reasons the masses of the people necessarily represent the ideals and institutions of democracy. There is in organized society one potential organization whose purpose it is to further these ideals and institutions—the organized labor movement.

In no previous war has the organized labor movement taken a directing part.

In previous times labor has had no representatives in the councils authorized to deal with the conduct of the war. The rights, interests and welfare of the workers were autocratically sacrificed for the slogan of "national safety."

The European war has demonstrated the dependence of the governments upon the coöperation of the masses of the people. Since the masses perform indispensable services, it follows that they should have a voice in determining the conditions under which they give service.

Finally in order to safeguard all the interests of the

wage-earners organized labor should have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies for national defense.

Here is labor's war program. In so far as it has been carried out nations have gained in fighting power in the war and labor has become dominant in society. It recognizes the fundamental democratic character of the war. It declares labor's consistent position as the defender of democracy. It insists that labor shall have a voice in the management of any war depending upon industry and waged in the interest of labor's ideals.

The Secretary of Labor was William B. Wilson, a member of the United Mine Workers of America. January 8, 1918, he was called upon by President Wilson to undertake the administration of war labor problems and to establish the following agencies:

1. A means of furnishing an adequate and stable supply of labor to war industries. This will include:
 - (a) A satisfactory system of labor exchanges.
 - (b) A satisfactory method and administration of training workers.
 - (c) An agency for determining priorities of labor demand.

(d) Agencies for dilution of skilled labor as required.

2. Machinery which will provide for the immediate and equitable adjustment of disputes in accordance with principles to be agreed upon between labor and capital and without stoppage of work. Such machinery would deal with demands concerning wages, hours and shop conditions.

3. Machinery for safeguarding conditions of labor in the production of war essentials. This to include industrial hygiene, safety, women and child labor and kindred matters.

4. Machinery for safeguarding conditions of living, including housing and transportation.

5. Fact gathering body to assemble and present data, collected through various governmental agencies, or by independent research, to furnish the information necessary for effective government action.

6. Information and education division, which has the functions of developing public sentiment; securing an exchange of information between departments of labor administration, and promotion in industrial plants of local machinery helpful in carrying out the national labor program.

Around this plan has already been built the framework of a new society. The furnishing an adequate and stable supply of labor to war industries was done by the United States Employment Service, a division of the Department of Labor.

This body soon became the general staff of an industrial army far larger than any military force under command of General Foch.

When the world is being remade it is hard to say which change is most important. It is certain, however, that among the pillars of that new age will be counted the work of this Employment Service and the War Labor Board.

The Employment Service is taking the chaos out of the labor market. It is abolishing competition and confusion. These things were bad where only inanimate objects were concerned. They were infinitely worse with human beings. These cannot lie upon the shelf waiting for a favorable market. If the labor attached to a man, woman or child is misapplied the attached life is wasted. When war made life and labor too expensive to be wasted we first set about a thoroughgoing conscious conservation and distribution of labor.

The Employment Service began its titanic task of mobilizing the army of American producers by enlisting the services of a vast number of existing organizations. Early in the war detailed machinery of coöperation was worked out with the following bodies: Existing state and other pub-

lic employment bureaus, the American Federation of Labor, Councils of Defense, Four-Minute-Men and the moving picture theaters, the entire school system, Boy Scouts, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Knights of Columbus, 75,000 post offices with their staff and the rural carriers, County Agricultural Agents, Commercial clubs, Intercollegiate Intelligence Bureau, Public Service Reserve, Boys Working Reserve, and numerous organizations and governmental agencies in Canada and Porto Rico. This coöperation was not nominal and perfunctory as any one who examines the reports published in the weekly "U. S. Employment Service Bulletin" soon discovers.

It was the duty of the Employment Service to determine which industries should have priority rights in the labor supply. Employers were not permitted to bid for workers any more than for material. The divisions of the industrial army were no more permitted to be drawn off for private profit than those of the military force. To insure this uniformity of management the conflicting private employment agencies were, at least momentarily, abolished. These hyena-like instruments of exploitation and confusion that a society

organized for profit had so long permitted to feed upon the disabled stragglers of the industrial army were finally crowded out of existence.

The national government, the proper central organizing agency of society, at last took upon itself the task of mobilizing its human resources.

A large section of the industrial army was undrilled, incapable of taking an effective place in the first lines of production. The apprentice system had been long destroyed. No adequate substitute had been created. Society had not awakened to the terrible waste of human life which results when talent, skill and ability are not given an opportunity to develop.

It was necessary to create special emergency educational systems in almost every field of industry. This work will be discussed more fully when we come to consider the educational revolution accomplished by the war.

Workers were not the only ones needing education. The majority of the managers of industry were found hopelessly incompetent to discharge their one special social function—that of procuring and organizing the labor force of the nation. The annual labor “turnover” was often found to exceed 300 per cent. Such a waste of

men, capital and productive machinery could not be endured in war. Its endurance in peace was one of the heaviest tributes paid to those who owned and directed industry. That it did not profit these owners and was due to simple incompetence did not lessen the burden upon the rest of society.

To meet this problem the Employment Service organized schools for employers. In these schools the proper methods of selecting, placing, organizing and retaining labor were taught. The lessons of the psychological laboratory were utilized. The theory of autocracy in the workshop was wiped out as foolish and wasteful as well as undemocratic, unjust and unsuited to our civilization. A large body of trained service experts was created that will be of immeasurable value as public servants in organizing the new society in which a cash nexus will not be the only union between labor and production.

The second step provided for in the proclamation of President Wilson, quoted above, was to establish, "Machinery which will provide for the immediate and equitable adjustment of disputes in accordance with principles to be agreed upon between labor and capital and without stoppage

of work. Such machinery would deal with demands concerning wages, hours and shop conditions." This machinery touches the vital point of the labor problem. In every nation the outbreak of war had brought the demand that strikes must be stopped. This generally took the form of a further demand for some sort of labor conscription.

In every nation organized labor proposed the only possible solution while industry remains in private hands—an arbitration board with power to raise wages to meet prices, and vesting a share of the management of industry in labor.

Labor refused to give up the right to strike. So long as industry is operated for profit, to surrender that right would be to accept chattel slavery.

The famous Whitley committee in England had already made a report, March 8, 1917, pointing out the only method that offers even a prospect of a peaceable bridge from industrial autocracy to social democracy. This committee, composed of the foremost economists, statesmen, capitalists and trades-unionists of Great Britain, recommended, "The establishment for each industry of an organization, representative of employers and

work people, to have as its object the regular consideration of matters affecting the progress and well-being of the trade from the point of view of all those engaged in it, so far as this is consistent with the general interest of the community."

The whole plan of the Whitley report rests upon and presupposes a thoroughly organized industry. "It may be desirable to state here," it says, "our considered opinion that an essential condition of securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed is that there should be adequate organization on the part of both employers and work-people. The proposals outlined for joint coöperation throughout the several industries depend for their ultimate success upon there being such organization on both sides; and such organization is necessary also to provide means whereby the arrangements and agreements made for the industry may be effectively carried out."

These proposals, which we learn are already "adopted by the government," make the unions an integral part of the state.

In the beginning the plan was to be applied only to well organized industries. Later another step was taken. The industries were classified into

three groups, according to the degree of unionization.

Group A.—Consisting of industries in which organization on the part of employers and employed is sufficiently developed to render their respective associations representative of the great majority of those engaged in the industry.

Group B.—Comprising those industries in which either as regards employers or employed, or both, the degree of organization, though considerable, is less marked than in group A.

Group C.—Consisting of industries in which organization is so imperfect, either as regards employers or employed, or both, that no associations can be said adequately to represent those engaged in the industry.

The plan of joint, practically autonomous, commissions applies only to the first group. The more socially backward groups are to be placed under "Trade Boards" appointed by the government. Because of their lack of organization it is taken for granted that wages in these two groups will be low. Therefore, "the primary function of a Trade Board is the determination of minimum rates of wages, and when the minimum rates of wages fixed by a Trade Board have been confirmed by the Minister of Labor, they are enforceable by

criminal procedure, and officers are appointed to secure their observance.”

In other words the government interferes directly only in order to raise wages and assist unionization.

This plan was not introduced into all British industries during the war. It is significant that just to the extent that the old autocracy was retained those industries failed to function in the great national crisis of the war. Where labor was not given power in industry it proceeded to take it through its ability to cripple the process of production by strikes and the use of its political power in government. Taking power in this way involves a desperate struggle. Such a struggle in time of war threatens defeat from without.

President Wilson put many of the principles of the Whitley report into effect during the war. He modified the plan and introduced other and very valuable features. This was done through the War Labor Board, composed of five employers and five unionists. Each group of five chose its own chairman. The employers selected William H. Taft. Labor's choice was Frank P. Walsh.

This board laid down the principles which governed "the board in its mediating and conciliatory action, and the umpire in his consideration of a controversy." These principles form the foundation of a new industrial society. They read as follows:

There should be no strikes or lockouts during the war.

RIGHT TO ORGANIZE.

The right of workers to organize in trade-unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.

The right of employers to organize in associations or groups and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever.

Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade-unions, nor for legitimate trade-union activities.

The workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, should not use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith.

EXISTING CONDITIONS.

In establishments where the union shop exists the same shall continue, and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment shall be maintained.

In establishments where union and nonunion men and

women now work together and the employer meets only with employees or representatives engaged in said establishments, the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance. This declaration, however, is not intended in any manner to deny the right or discourage the practice of the formation of labor unions or the joining of the same by the workers in said establishments, as guaranteed in the preceding section, nor to prevent the War Labor Board from urging or any umpire from granting, under the machinery herein provided, improvement of their situation in the matter of wages, hours of labor, or other conditions as shall be found desirable from time to time.

Established safeguards and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of workers shall not be relaxed.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

If it shall become necessary to employ women on work ordinarily performed by men, they must be allowed equal pay for equal work and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength.

HOURS OF LABOR.

The basic eight-hour day is recognized as applying in all cases in which existing law requires it. In all other cases the question of hours of labor shall be settled with due regard to governmental necessities and the welfare, health, and proper comfort of the workers.

MAXIMUM PRODUCTION.

The maximum production of all war industries should be maintained, and methods of work and operation on the part of employers or workers which operate to delay or limit production, or which have a tendency to arti-

ficially increase the cost thereof, should be discouraged.

MOBILIZATION OF LABOR.

For the purpose of mobilizing the labor supply with a view to its rapid and effective distribution, a permanent list of the numbers of skilled and other workers available in different parts of the country shall be kept on file by the Department of Labor, the information to be constantly furnished—

1. By trade-unions.
2. By State employment bureaus and Federal agencies of like character.
3. By the managers and operators of industrial establishments throughout the country.

These agencies shall be given opportunity to aid in the distribution of labor as necessity demands.

CUSTOM OF LOCALITIES.

In fixing wages, hours, and conditions of labor, regard should always be had to the labor standards, wage scales, and other conditions prevailing in the localities affected.

THE LIVING WAGE.

1. The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared.

2. In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort.

The establishment of these principles as the basis of decisions in an almost completely mobilized industrial life has wrought a transformation for which labor has been struggling for almost a century and which seemed nearly a century away when the war came.

Nor have these principles remained dead letters. When the war opened trade-unionism seemed to have reached, or at least to be approaching, the most critical period in its history. It was making almost no headway against the great trusts, and these were usurping a constantly increasing percentage of the industrial field. The mammoth basic steel industry had well-nigh crushed all effort at organization and reduced its employees to a condition of subjection strangely out of place in a democracy. The beef, copper, oil, and coal trusts were apparently waging a successful struggle to the same end. Of course this end would not have come. By some means or another, violent or peaceful, economic or legislative, labor would have compelled recognition. But it would have been only after such suffering and sacrifice and industrial waste as has accompanied no industrial conflict in the past.

The war has gained this victory without bloodshed or open conflict. Rather it was not the war that did it but the methods adopted by the administration of Woodrow Wilson and the action of the organized workers.

Every appeal made to the War Labor Board to defend these principles has met with positive con-

sistent action. One of the most autocratic concerns was the Bethlehem Steel Company. It had refused to permit union organizers within the city where it is located. Every employee known to belong to any sort of organization was at once discharged. The War Labor Board (Docket No. 22) decided that "the right of employees to bargain collectively is recognized by the National War Labor Board; therefore the employees of the Bethlehem plant should be guaranteed this right." Similar decisions, enforced by the appointment of an examiner with authority to enforce action, were made in disputes between the employees and several of the most powerful and autocratic trusts. In the case of the Western Union Telegraph Co., the right of the employees to organize was enforced, after an appeal to Congress for an enabling act, by government seizure and operation of the lines. In the case of other firms employees discharged for joining a labor organization were ordered reinstated and machinery for collective bargaining installed under the direction of the War Labor Board.

From the very beginning the board has insisted upon the introduction of the eight hour day wherever possible. In the case of the *Molders vs.*

Wheeling Mold and Foundry Co. (Docket No. 37)
the board said:

Indeed it may be well considered that as the world and especially all free countries are "on their way" to the adoption of the eight-hour law, might it not be for the interest of the employers frankly to accept it, and avoid the constant struggle for its attainment by settling the question once for all.

By the introduction of machinery and numerous inventions, production has been increased many fold, in some cases a thousand fold. It is not just that the profit accruing therefrom shall go to the employers alone, without the employees receiving a fair share of the greatly increased profits.

It is better that the machinery should be worn out than the bodies of the employees. Man passes through this world but once, and he is entitled in the language of the great Declaration to some "enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

One of the things the world has visioned for centuries is a work day short enough to give time for education and pleasure. With the end of the war we have gone a long way toward realizing one step toward that vision. Mr. Frank P. Walsh has said that, largely because of the work of the War Labor Board, nearly ten times as many persons

were working but eight hours in Sept., 1918, as in August, 1914. Yet production was never so great.

The war has almost inconceivably accelerated the already rapid movement of women into industry. This, however, is the subject of another chapter. Here is the place to touch only upon the relation of her entrance to the work of the War Labor Board. Hitherto woman has been welcomed as a means of reducing wages. To the employer she has been a substitute for Chinese and contract workers, an instrument with which to reduce the standard of living of her father, brother or husband. A typical decision, that in the case of the Bridgeport munition workers, says (Docket No. 132):

In no case shall any female employee 18 years of age or over receive less than 32 cents per hour, and where women are employed on work ordinarily performed by men, they shall be accorded equal pay for equal work, and must not be allotted tasks disproportionate to their strength.

In all cases where women perform the same work as men, their pay shall be the same.

The War Labor Board is writing *finis* to the era of buying labor power at the market price without regard to the effect upon the producer of that

labor power. It does not permit an employer to hire in the cheapest market. It has established the principle of a minimum wage, a principle that destroys the foundation of the wage system, because it bases payment upon the needs of the worker, not upon the power of the employer.

In many instances the board has granted wages much higher than those asked for by the employees. In every case the board has based its decision upon the standard of living and has refused to sanction a wage scale that would not permit the maintenance of a proper standard. In the case of a number of tool companies the decision reads:

The Board hereby announces that it has now under consideration the matter of the determination of the living wage, which under its principles must be the minimum rate of wage which will permit the worker and his family to subsist in reasonable health and comfort.

In the case of the packing companies this minimum was placed at more than \$1,000 a year. In all cases the budgets upon which it is based are such as to insure a far higher standard of life than unskilled workers, at least, have hitherto been able to procure.

It may be thought that the growth of the power

of labor in industry is peculiar and transitory, that it is a result of the great demand for workers. But the increased influence of labor has been almost equally great in other directions. The administrative machinery of the state has added to itself many boards and commissions to deal with war work. This, again, is an acceleration of a movement that had already become of importance before the war.

These new bodies deal with the things that come closest to each individual. They are managing matters of greatest importance in the national life. The draft board in any community was more important than the police force. Its acts touched more people and in more vital relations. The food and fuel administrators exercise powers of much more popular significance than do mayors. Any one of several such officials is of greater interest at this time to the mass of men and women in the United States than a Congressman.

On all these bodies, now governing the most important phases of our lives and performing just the functions that will be the main concern of government in the future, labor has an important place. It was impossible to "mobilize industry"

without giving this power to industrial workers. It has placed labor, organized labor, at a host of strategic points.

In almost every instance the men who are upon such commissions are not "intellectuals," but are drawn direct from the ranks of workers. They are gaining an experience that will be of greatest value in managing and directing industry as labor constantly gains greater control over industry. In the schools for training managers the producers have created an institution that will supply the organizers and directors of industry.

Labor's growing power does not stop with national boundaries. There has always been an international of labor. The character of that international has changed during the war. It was formerly entirely *supernational*. It was looked upon as something outside of and above the nation. Labor was considered almost an outcast within its own country, and felt closer bonds of union with the workers of other nations than with the social body of which it was a constituent part. There were reasons for this. So long as labor is exploited and subject to class rule those reasons continue.

Now that labor is gaining power within each

nation and especially within industry, this super-nationalism is turning toward real internationalism. When labor leaves its national boundaries it now begins to go as a representative of that nation to deal with similar representatives of other nations. The multitude of labor commissions to Russia and Europe from the United States and to this country from Europe were the beginnings of a new diplomacy.

Labor will henceforth take its national mandate when it goes to congresses that will be truly *international*. It will do this because labor will have supplanted the industrial capitalist as the dominant factor in the governments, industrial and political, of modern states.

Labor had nothing to say about starting this war. It will have a commanding voice in determining the conditions of peace. Already the peace aims of labor have been adopted by the allied governments, reluctantly and sometimes with reservations. They have been wholeheartedly accepted by President Wilson and the American people. At the peace conference the influence of those who have worked and fought will be heard. The American Federation of Labor has demanded that an international labor conference

meet at the same time and place as the peace conference. The first inter-allied Socialist conference in London appointed a committee composed of men who have occupied cabinet positions during the war in their various countries to insist that at least one representative of labor be sent from each country to the body that is to fix peace terms.

Long before the end of the war it became evident that labor's terms of peace had become those of President Wilson. Then they were gradually adopted by all the allied nations. Every deviation, or suspicion of deviation, from the principles of democracy, every suggestion of imperialism, every effort of the exploiting class to impress its now archaic interests upon the war aims resulted in an immediate loss of morale.

After consultation with representatives of every faction of the labor movement of England, France, Belgium and Italy, in the summer of 1918, the writer can say with positive knowledge that the allied cause was saved from almost certain defeat by President Wilson's statement of his fourteen war aims in January, 1918. At that time the "defeatist" movement had received such encouragement from the imperialist forces in the

various nations that the powerful labor and Socialist organizations were insisting upon an International Socialist Congress and immediate negotiations for peace. They believed that only in this way could a just and democratic peace be secured. However wrong this belief, its existence is indisputable.

Then came President Wilson's speech of January 8, 1918. When the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference was held at London in February the war aims adopted were so nearly identical with President Wilson's terms that Camille Huysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, assured the writer that they were interchangeable and could be so used in any resolution offered for adoption to any Socialist body.

The labor movement of the world, like the best thought of the United States, is trying to "make the world safe for democracy." It has no interest in boundary lines, colonial claims nor commercial conflicts, save as any of these are related to the self-expression of peoples.

Labor everywhere, in the Alliance for Labor and Democracy and the American Federation of Labor in the United States, as well as in every labor organization in any of the allied countries

is agreed upon a certain number of fundamental things that must be established at the peace congress. It always demands disarmament and a league of nations, self-determination of peoples and the abolition of secret diplomacy. Little by little the entire democratic portion of the peoples of all nations have come to accept these demands of labor.

Within and without the nation the power of labor is growing and widening. This movement will continue. In the days that follow the war there will be no room for idlers. The war has taught us that ownership does not relieve from the duty of service. It has made the measure of a man's value rest upon the things he does, not upon what he owns.

Within industry, the foundation of society, the power and prerogatives of labor have constantly increased at the expense of ownership. Within the state a similar process is going on. It is not hard to visualize the goal toward which all this is moving. It heralds the coming of a society in which service will be the only title to citizenship, and where all will serve.

This is part of the vision for which we fought.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW STATE

WAR has changed the nature of the state. It is becoming ready for the new society. Even while it momentarily takes on some of the forms of autocracy it is becoming fundamentally much more democratic. It is taking on new functions and developing new organs.

Administration is growing at the expense of legislation.

For the moment we are concerned with doing, not with law-making. The time will come when legislation must catch up with events. We are developing very many new administrative bodies to do the work that has been thrust upon us.

Governments have hitherto existed mainly to restrict the acts of individuals toward property or persons. They have been negative, prohibitory, even obstructive. The movement away from this attitude was well started before the war. As with all movements necessary to the building

of the new society its evolution has been accelerated by the necessity of social solidarity and common action in war. The new governments are positive. They are doing things instead of merely standing in the road.

It is for this positive action that new organs are growing. Food and fuel boards seek to increase production and improve distribution rather than prevent theft. The railway administration is anxious about the carrying of goods and passengers. It does not concern itself with the punishment of combinations and discriminations or rows between shippers and railroad owners. Munition, shipping and aviation boards are to hasten production, not to protect property.

We have moved a long way from a police state toward a producing state.

Such an evolution leaves behind many vestigial organs in the body politic. For the moment Congress appears as one of these. It still represents the old order. Its lawyer members are concerned with property relations and precedents. They still represent the owning class. To them labor is still something to be repressed and regulated. Possession is entitled to nine points of the law.

It does not occur to them that their function is to bring the nation's legal code up to the date of its industrial and social transformation. Therefore they stand as if dazed by the vision of which they are as yet a reluctant and uncomprehending part.

The pages of the Congressional Record read as if detached from even the great events that must, perforce, be discussed. The debates sound piffling, unreal, antiquated. They contain no important constructive contribution to the solution of the greatest problems the world has known. Nor will anything of the kind be found there until Congress receives a mandate from the people to build the legislative framework of a society already in existence.

The state has everywhere multiplied its industrial functions. The most striking example of this is the extension of direct ownership and operation of industry. Arms, powder plants, railways, telegraph and telephones, ship-yards, warehouses, mines, and factories of almost every sort are operated and owned directly by every warring nation.

The United States will soon be the largest ship-owner on earth. The British Empire will be sec-

ond, but will be the largest landlord, having already appropriated over \$750,000,000 for housing. This country runs it a close second and our appropriations have a way of reaching colossal figures when they start.

Governments have so completely dominated the financial field that private banks have become little more than their fiscal agents. The schools and postoffices have been linked up with the fiscal system of the government. It will be easy to continue this connection and transform the scheme of "thrift stamps" and postal savings into a genuine public banking system reaching every citizen.

The stupendous expenditures of war will be followed by the incomprehensible mass of the public debts. With these will go the titanic financial operations of reconstruction. Together these will, for a generation, exercise a controlling influence over all financial transactions.

In the United States the great insurance companies have, for many years, been of almost dominating importance in the world of finance. The national government has taken the first long step toward absorbing their work. On August 30, 1918, the treasury department of the United States announced:

More than \$30,000,000,000 of government insurance has been written to date to protect America's fighting forces and their families.

Approximately 3,400,000 insurance applications have been received by the Bureau of War-Risk Insurance up to the close of business August 30. An unprecedented rush of business in the last fortnight has eclipsed the billion-dollar-a-week record. The total for the month of August will be approximately \$5,000,000,000 in new insurance applications.

All these policies have a clause permitting an extension after the soldier returns to private life. There is not the slightest probability that the remainder of the population will continue to pay exorbitant profits to private insurance companies when their neighbors are enjoying the low government rates. Moreover every nation has come to realize the necessity of extensive schemes of social insurance. The whole machinery for these is in perfect working order.

Every nation involved in the war owns vast quantities of airplanes and trucks and the organization with which to use these in the coming revolution of transportation. These things will render private ownership of the railroads much less desirable. The development of water competition,

released from the unfair discrimination of privately owned railroads, will permit the creation of an actual system of transportation in which each agency will be assigned to its most suitable place.

The mammoth munition factories owned by governments can be transformed into establishments for the production of much needed tools and machinery as easily as machine shops were transformed into munition factories at the beginning of the war. There will be a boundless demand for the things such shops can make. The whole industrial world must be restocked. No person who has seen the railways, factories and farms of Europe but wonders whether the powers of production will be adequate to the task of supplying their needs for many years after peace.

Industry will be recreated in the first years of peace. The old establishments will be gone. The opposition to common action will be lessened. Vested rights will have been modified—some will be destroyed. Even without the tremendous active and latent sentiment in favor of such action a vast expansion of state activity would be inevitable. The revolution of industry demands new

instruments. All these will be of a size so great that private enterprise will be inadequate and will not be tolerated.

We have noticed the proposed revolution in power transmission in Great Britain. The commission of engineers and managers of industry who recommended the erection of these central power stations rightly say that its greatest advantage will not be in the large saving in fuel and labor in the production of the energy. The premier reason for its adoption will be the advantage which would come to industry as a whole by such a standardization and simplification of the problem of industrial power. It is expected that this would place the industry of Great Britain upon such a distinctly more efficient and higher industrial stage as to give that nation once more a dominant position in the industrial world.

If the United States does not have the conscious intelligence to take a similar step immediately, then it will be forced to take it, after suffering the economic disadvantages that come to any nation that lags behind industrial evolution. Moreover the United States is in a peculiarly advantageous position to take such a step. England must depend for her electricity almost exclusively upon

her coal. But this nation has greater water powers than any other industrial nation. When energy is to be transmitted in the form of electricity water power offers many advantages to coal.

Moreover recent careful surveys of unappropriated water powers show that there are between 30,000,000 and 60,000,000 horse power now running to waste. This is at least double all the steam, water and gas generated power now used in this country. By combining this water power with coal producing stations where necessary the entire burden of coal shipments could be taken from our railways. This amounts to 35 per cent. of their total tonnage and was the main cause of their congestion at critical periods of the war.

It is unthinkable that in this age the ownership and operation of a nation-wide system, having the power of life and death over every industry in the country, should be privately owned. The state must assume this function. There is no doubt that sooner or later it will do so. When it does, and transportation and the energy that drives industry are socially controlled, the people will for the first time manage the essentials of their own lives.

The whole intricate system of rationing, regulating and distributing necessities established for

war purposes has made the feeding and care of the people a prime purpose of the state. The government does these things not for profit but for the protection of its citizens and for its own defense. It seeks equality between citizens, not individual advantage. Everywhere this wide state action inevitably introduces a new norm, a new standard of action, that of the general welfare, into the most intimate industrial and social relations. This new standard will remain and be projected far into the future, affecting every phase of state action. It will do this because it is in accord with evolution and in harmony with the whole movement toward democracy.

This rationing must continue in some modified form for several years after the war. Mr. Herbert Hoover estimates this period at five years. J. R. Clynes, British food administrator, has made the same estimate. This rationing will extend to all the staples of industry. It will afford a control over industry and all phases of society that must be exercised in the common interest without regard to personal advantage.

In a reciprocal way the number of persons directly connected with the government has been vastly increased. This is not due even funda-

mentally to the multiplication of government employees, although the effect of this must be extremely far-reaching.

The number of owners of government bonds has increased in the United States from less than 200,000 at the beginning of the war to more than 25,000,000. This increase of more than 100 fold gives an average of more than one bondholder to a family. Millions of families were unable to join even in such a distribution. Most of these have been reached by the "thrift stamp" campaign. Every such bondholder has been brought into new and closer relation to the government and will henceforth maintain a sharper interest in its work.

Viewed from any one of a hundred different points the government is seen to have become the great organizing force, the central fact toward which all else is oriented, the nucleus about which all social life is turning. Millions of men, women and children have given freely of their time on the multitudinous boards or commissions, or as solicitors and collectors in innumerable campaigns and drives. All these have become related to the government in a new way, in that they came to bring service, not to demand financial reward.

Out of a combination of this idea of service and of the extension of governmental administrative functions, there has grown another and important organ, which seems destined to be of dominating influence in the coming society.

Many labor leaders, especially, have been persuaded that in the new system of divided commissions, there has been developed a method of obtaining by direct pressure upon administrative bodies results hitherto sought through elections and legislation. We have already seen how the War Labor Board, the Draft Boards and similar organizations have granted to labor equal representation. This is at a time when labor's representation in legislative bodies is practically negligible.

The officials of the American Federation of Labor may be said to have adopted this method of action as their policy. They concern themselves much less with legislation than with administration. They seek representation on the multitude of industrial commissions that directly determine working conditions. They point out that in this way, even before the war, working codes had been developed in such states as Ohio, Wisconsin and

Illinois far superior to any obtained by direct act of a legislative body.

Once more the war greatly accelerated an existing tendency. The number of such boards and commissions has been multiplied until they are to-day the most conspicuous feature of government. Moreover it would appear that the entire work of reconstruction will be handed over to such bodies. That has been the case in Great Britain. Preparations in France and Italy point to the same method being pursued.

In no other way can the services of trained experts representing all phases of a problem be brought to bear upon it. Members of legislative bodies are rarely fitted for such work. But such commissions can apply themselves directly to the task in hand, always subject to legislative check and supervision on matters of general policy. They seem especially suited to undertake the great industrial tasks that will confront the new state.

On these boards, where actual constructive work is to be done, where there is an opportunity for service and none of the necessity for cringing servility and intrigue that is associated with electioneering, it is possible to obtain, without cost,

or at nominal expense, the service of the ablest minds. This should not be long requested. The laborer is worthy of his hire, and already volunteer service, which must always be confined to those whom some sort of economic privilege guarantees an income aside from the service they perform, is giving way to well-paid highly skilled specialists.

Yet in the transition stage it is an omen of good progress that enthusiastic unpaid service has been received not only from an army of individuals but from almost every social institution. Churches, schools, colleges as well as professional, philanthropic and fraternal associations of every kind have been mobilized and related to the governmental organism.

Great organizations like the Y. M. C. A., hitherto remote from the government, have become vast and closely connected units of government operations. They have done this while retaining all their civilian characteristics and membership. To these millions so affected, government is something more than a policeman, an arbiter of disputes or a source of political sustenance. All these have come to the government to serve in administrative work, to help in a social purpose,

to advance what they believe to be the common welfare, not to legislate, judge, punish or reward.

All this insures that the new social norm of state action will be maintained and extended. The state when it enters housing does not build death-traps, maintain foul tenements nor practice rack-renting. On the contrary its houses are intended to be models of planning, construction and operation. The state is supposed to be a model employer. It generally lives up to this reputation, the bad example of some portions of the postal service notwithstanding.

In all these ways of receiving and giving service the government draws closer to the people—becomes more democratic. In all fundamental respects democracy has gained immeasurably during the war. This is true in spite of the tendency in some directions, to which reference has already been made, for the operations of government to become momentarily more autocratic. These only mean that in a time of emergency democracy has shown itself sufficiently efficient to vest real authority in those whom it has chosen to wield such authority. In order to work the will of the majority in time of crisis and save itself for all time democracy dared to be somewhat ruthless of the

obstruction of a minority. That it has done so is the best security of the stability of democracy.

Those who cannot distinguish between doing and debating, between administration and an election, have raised a great hue and cry because they are not permitted to thwart the will of the majority to put out a conflagration by holding mass-meetings in the space needed for fire engines. Because they have been denied this right they shriek that free speech is destroyed and democracy slain. Had democracy lacked the will and ability to do what it has done it would have proved itself unfit to survive and would most assuredly have perished.

The entrance of the whole population, personally and financially, with such complete abandon of immediate personal profit, into the support of the war is a vote by actions that spoke a thousand times louder than any ballot referendum for the prosecution of the war.

This universal participation in the work of government is shaping the people and the state to play a part in the building of the vision for which the world fought. Never again will government be the impersonal thing, the harsh repressive instrument, nor merely the source of fat plunder

that so many have considered it in the past. It will hereafter be something to use for the common good, to serve the common ends, to defend the common interests and produce and distribute the common wealth.

As such it will call to its service the scientists of the colleges, the skilled in industry and the representatives of labor. These will consciously map out the road that society will follow. They will plan progress. They will enter into every field of human activity where common action is more efficient than individual.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL SURPLUS

THE social surplus is that portion of the annual product in excess of the amount required to sustain the producers and replace and improve the means of production. Its existence marks the appearance of what we know as civilization. Until it arose the race could not lift itself above savagery. While the product remained only sufficient to maintain existence there was no opportunity for provision, education, culture.

After the social surplus appeared the method of its disposal determined the nature of the civilization to which it belonged. In ancient Egypt it built pyramids. In the Middle Ages it formed the foundation of the clerical hierarchy, the vast cathedrals and the pomp of kings and emperors. In our day it has been lavished upon the owners of industry as a reward for their grossly exaggerated services in organizing industry. We are only just learning in this war that these owners have really had no part in that organization for

many years, and that, in such a national emergency, they are the greatest obstacle to real national mobilization. It is only as they have individually divested themselves of their social position as owners and become workers that they have been able to serve in this great crisis.

This social surplus is to-day the source from which war finances are drawn. The whole problem of war finance consists in collecting as much as possible of that surplus without industrial disturbance.

Governments have always been reluctant to collect statistics concerning the amount of the social surplus. It is not hard to understand why. This surplus has always been the perquisite of a ruling class, the object of attack by all exploited classes. Social students in this and all other modern countries have urged the importance of such statistics. But the beneficiaries of the surplus have always opposed the necessary investigations. Consequently we, in common with other nations, were compelled to undertake the colossal task of war financing ignorant of the most important data essential to that task.

During the war the estimates of the annual income have varied. The most common authorita-

tive estimates have placed it between fifty and eighty billion dollars. Improved organization of industry, better utilization of natural resources and labor power, abolition of the terrible wastes of competition and duplication, and withdrawal of labor and capital from useless non-productive enterprises could certainly double it. It is on this possibility that the hopes of reconstruction and the realization of the vision we have held before us must largely rest.

The many studies made of the distribution of wealth agree that in normal times about one-half of this income goes to non-producers as a reward of possession. All this constitutes a social surplus. All of it save that portion necessary to replace and enlarge industry can be taken for war or other social purpose. In a desperate extremity part of that going to producers might be taken. In so far as producers received more than enough to maintain them as efficient workers they are sharing in the social surplus and may be taxed for social purposes. In past wars so much has been taken from this source as to reduce the efficiency of the producers.

This nation has taken \$35,000,000,000 in a single year for war purposes without reducing the

standard of living of the workers to the customary level of peace times. So far as the possible amount to be raised is concerned it makes little difference whether loans or direct taxes be used. There is no way by which to make "posterity bear our burdens" or fight our wars. If there were such a way the present would never bear any burdens. We must live upon and fight with what we produce or have saved, and the possibility of using accumulated riches is less than is commonly thought.

If we conscript the social surplus directly by taxation the account is closed. If we collect it through loans we give to the bondholders and their heirs the power of the state later to conscript, through taxation, an equal sum, plus interest, from the descendants and heirs of the rest of society. In either case the actual wealth used by the state for war is that already produced and withdrawn from the annual product or past stores.

The only argument in favor of loans is that while industry is in private hands the bond system may cause less confusion and momentarily yield larger resources.

Both in regard to bonds and taxation this war has been financed, in the United States at least,

upon different principles than any previous war. This difference carries important social effects. The very size of the transactions throughout the world would have produced great social changes. By August, 1918, the total war debts were estimated at \$163,000,000,000. It is probable that this war caused greater cash expenditures than all other wars recorded by history combined. This was only possible because the productive powers of modern society are so many times greater than those of any previous age. This supplies a social surplus that for war or peace gives possibilities undreamed of in other civilizations.

The methods by which the money has been raised carry a social incidence of greatest import. The methods of taxation and bond sales are both such as to revolutionize the distribution of wealth. During our Civil War the burden fell heaviest upon the small property holder and the laborer. The money needed was raised largely by indirect taxation. This strikes hardest at the weakest members of society. It exaggerates and aggravates any inequalities in wealth distribution. The same methods were used in the Spanish American War. Large sums were raised by stamp taxes upon articles of working class consumption. This

reduced the standard of living among laborers. It conscripted their necessities while the luxuries of the rich were but little affected.

These wars marked a great acceleration in the concentration of wealth.

A reverse plan in the sale of bonds aggravated this tendency. Little or no effort was made to reach the small investor. The bonds were handled through great banking corporations. They were bought almost exclusively by the wealthy. This gave the already rich the power to tax future generations of producers. As they were issued in large denominations and no effort was made to adjust terms of payment to meet the needs of people with small incomes their ownership was limited to the few.

With regard to both taxation and bond sales exactly opposite tactics have been pursued during the present war.

The heavy burden of taxation has been made to fall upon the rich. It has been directly proportioned to income. The income and excess profits tax in Great Britain and the United States, while as yet by no means so high nor graduated so sharply as we shall some day see that justice and good financing demands, are still so much higher

and sharper than in any previous war as to make comparison as to their effects almost impossible.

There has been much talk of "conscription of wealth." This phrase has little meaning except to describe the seizure of income by taxation. Capital has no value without income. All capital is replaced at relatively short periods. Conscription of income for a decade would place all capital in the hands of society.

This is exactly what the war has gone far on the road to accomplishing. In the United States the income exemption for a family is \$2,000. The rate of increase on the higher incomes is rapid and drastic. Both England and the United States now conscript between eighty and ninety per cent. of all incomes above about \$1,000,000. In many cases where excess profits and corporation taxes are added to the same income the amount taken may be larger. Moreover there is a rapidly rising public sentiment that demands the conscription of all above what is necessary to insure a comfortable existence.

Great Britain has made a distinction which has not yet entered into our system of taxation that has an even more significant tendency. This is the distinction between "earned" and "unearned"

incomes. Those incomes that are derived from purely passive possession are taxed much higher than those that are paid in return for some service performed.

Such a system of taxation has a tremendous leveling tendency. It places in the hands of society vast sums derived from those whose power of possession is being transformed into the mere function of collectors for social use. From this the step is not far to abolishing this class entirely as the old tax farmers of the *ancien régime* were abolished by the French Revolution.

The sale of bonds has followed an equally revolutionary direction. In previous wars their distribution was confided to powerful financiers—during the Civil War to Jay Cooke and Co.—who disposed of them at as large a profit as the market would permit. The advertising and expense of marketing were borne by the profit-making intermediary. This expense was naturally very large. This intermediary received no unpaid volunteer assistance. It was considered beneath the dignity of a great government to deal directly with its citizens.

In this war no commission is paid to intermediaries. Every effort is made to reach the investor

directly. The greatest advertising campaigns in history are undertaken. These depend primarily upon volunteer effort. Artists, bankers, advertising men, brokers, bond salesmen, newspapers and a vast army of volunteer canvassers form the foundation of the work of soliciting. All these serve without pay.

The small investor is most earnestly solicited. The most favorable terms possible are arranged for payments. Elaborate systems of small installments, supplemented by direct assistance from a multitude of institutions, coax the coöperation of those who never previously thought of themselves as possible bondholders. As has already been noted this has resulted in increasing the number of owners of government bonds from 200,000 to more than 25,000,000.

An even more revolutionary principle underlies this method of financiering. The wealth of the rich has been conscripted by taxation. The savings of the small investor and the worker have been borrowed and turned into an interest bearing investment. This is a part of the tremendous leveling process and democratizing movement that runs through all the war events.

Taxation in the United States has already taken

about \$12,000,000,000. Most of this has come from persons with an income of more than \$2,000 a year. This money has been taken forever. During the same period about \$15,000,000,000 has been borrowed from more than 25,000,000 different persons. A large proportion of the total sum has undoubtedly come from wealthy individuals and corporations. But there are not half as many persons with an income of \$2,000 annually as have purchased bonds. It is therefore certain that a majority of the present bondholders have been exempted from income taxes. These small lenders, of course, together with the large ones, have been given the power to tax future generations to pay interest and principal.

Nor is this the end. The system of War Savings Stamps carries this same tendency much further. It vastly increases the number of lenders. It specifically bars the wealthy from participation in excess of \$1,000. In previous wars large denominations of bonds barred the small investor. He contributed only through forced confiscatory taxes.

To those who complain of this tendency of war financing as communistic and revolutionary, it may be replied, "Cheer up, it will get steadily worse."

In every nation affected by the war the mass of the voters are demanding that conscription of large and unearned incomes, inheritances and profits shall be made more and more drastic. They are also insisting, and are in a position to enforce their insistence, that, until all incomes are brought down to that level, no heavier burdens be laid upon those whose incomes are sufficient only to maintain a healthy existence. This is the accompanying principle of the minimum wage. There is no use in demanding a wage that shall insure decent development if that wage is to be reduced by taxation.

These facts make it certain that this system of taxation will continue after the war. Labor has discovered a method of expropriating the employer and transferring his functions and his capital to the community. There will be as great tasks to perform in peace as in war. The social reconstruction that began when war was declared and has moved with accelerating speed throughout the great conflict will make demands upon the social surplus equal to those of destructive war. It is probable that anticipation of such permanence accounts for a portion of the opposition to taxation on the part of conservative financial forces.

It is complained against the system of financing the war by heavy taxation of large incomes that it prevents that accumulation and reinvestment of capital essential to a growing industry, and especially essential to such rapid expansion as is demanded by war. The objection is valid. It cannot be answered if the vision for which we fought rests upon private ownership and control of capital.

Society, no more than an individual, can eat its cake and have it too. If society assumes the income of the capitalist it must also assume his functions. If it encroaches so far upon the social surplus as to interfere with such an accumulation of capital as is demanded by industrial progress then it must supply that capital if progress is to continue.

This is exactly what is being done. The institution with which the gap from private industry to public ownership is being bridged is the "War Finance Corporation." This has a revolving capital of half a billion dollars. The mere suggestion of such a corporation would have caused a wild furor in 1914. Concerning its operation the *Business Digest* quotes the opinion of financial journals as follows:

As proposed no business corporation ever devised by man in any country on the globe has equaled it in magnitude, either in a financial sense or in respect to the amplitude of the powers conferred upon it. The government has undertaken the task of "underwriting" American business in the way the *Journal of Commerce* puts it.

This characterization is accurate. The law creating this corporation endows it with a capital of \$500,000,000 from which to supply capital "directly to any person, firm, corporation, or association, conducting an established and going business in the United States, whose operations shall be necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war (but only for the purpose of conducting such business in the United States and only when in the opinion of the board of directors of the Corporation such person, firm, corporation or association is unable to obtain funds upon reasonable terms through banking channels or from the general public), for periods not exceeding five years from the respective date of such advances, upon such terms, and subject to such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the board of directors of the Corporation."

The national government, by this bill, is made not only the collector of the social surplus but its

conservator and investor. That government has already become the owner and operator of vast fields of industry. By this action it assumes another of the most fundamental functions of the private capitalist.

That the functions of this corporation may be expanded and transformed to almost any extent is forecast in the address of Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo to the Directors of the Corporation on the occasion of handing them their commissions. He said:

There can be no chart for this corporation, nor can any true picture of its activities be drawn at this time. It must evolve with the progress of events, and our duty is to see that in that evolution it performs the great functions which have been committed to it and that it exercises its great powers always and at all times in the public interest.

This corporation is but one of the many bridges from the old society to the new. During the war it lent money to private capitalists. This insured the continuity of industry during a great crisis. At the same time it gives society a stake and a voice in such industries. But such hybrid ownership and management is manifestly a mark of a transition stage.

The next inevitable stage is for the state to invest the surplus it collects directly in the industry it will then own and manage.

If the mobilization of industry were complete society would own its resources and direct production. In time of desperate stress every citizen would be rationed and assigned his or her place. The entire social surplus would pass automatically into the hands of the state to be used as might be necessary. There would be no waste of energy in collecting the surplus from private owners. Price-fixing to limit, priority to control, and taxation and bond sales to collect, the surplus would be unnecessary. There is no trouble of this kind in regard to the surplus produced by the carrying of mail.

The war has decided that henceforth the social surplus must be used for social purposes. The repayment of the stupendous war debts, reconstruction, the rebuilding of nations, men and industry will require expenditures but little smaller than those for war. Society has found that it is not only unnecessary to use this great socially created surplus as a reward for private ownership, but that so to use it handicaps industry, discourages

incentive, and creates social chaos in time of crisis.

The titanic operations of war have made the world familiar with big things. We know that few things are impossible.

We know now that if we really desire to abolish poverty, tuberculosis, slums, the slaughter of infants, ignorance and all the squalid horrors that have rendered many features of our civilization hideous we can do so. The war expenditures of a single year would abolish all these.

We now know that in the United States it is possible to take more than thirty billion dollars from the social surplus without injuring our industrial society one-half as much as it is injured by a single great preventable financial panic. We have learned something else of greater importance. We know that we can multiply the power of production and the size of the social surplus whenever we wish to apply intelligence to industry.

The reorganization of industry already described, and the systematization and standardization of production have probably doubled the industrial product in every nation involved. It has done this with all the strongest and ablest young men engaged in destruction. It has done it in the

confusion of a world war. It has greatly increased the available social surplus while raising wages faster than ever before.

The possibilities of increase when the same systematic skill and energy are directed toward industrial organization that have been utilized in the conduct of the war stagger comprehension. When the millions of strong young men are brought back to work, many of them highly trained in mechanical lines, when the marvelous lessons of organization learned in war are used in peace, production will be multiplied many fold. The introduction of the newly learned principles of standardization, the organization upon a national scale of power production, the coördination of air, land and water in transportation, the more perfect utilization of agricultural resources—all these promise possibilities of increased production of which we have never dreamed.

After a nation has lived under the operation of a "work or fight" law it will never again look with favor upon the social idler. When the social surplus is no longer used to maintain such idlers at one extreme of society and to produce them at the other, a great body of workers will be added to the producing force. The war has given a powerful

impetus to technical education. Literally millions of men and women have had their producing power increased by training received in the line of war work. That system of training will be extended and with it, the skill of the workers, the amount of the social product and surplus will be greatly increased.

There will be plenty of tasks to be accomplished with the aid of the social surplus. Not alone in northern France, Belgium and Serbia must cities be rebuilt. There are great sections of our large cities that would be benefited by the destruction of war. We will tear these down and build homes fit for human beings. We will give our new world something of the beauty in common things that will have grown familiar to millions of members of the American Expeditionary Force.

We are going to extend the principle of insurance to the whole population, and provide against the calamities of sickness, accident, old age and death. We are going to protect infancy against a death rate higher than any army has known in this war.

The wonderful educational work started during the war will be continued and developed. We are just learning that the nation cannot afford to

waste its human productive material by leaving it illiterate and untrained. The money so expended and taken from the social surplus will be invested and not lost. It will be returned very many fold. Trained workers will each produce many times more than enough increased value to educate his successors.

There must never be another unemployed army in the world. All modern nations are resolved upon that. We must so plan our building of roads, schools, irrigation and reclamation work, forestry and housing that an industrial depression will become an opportunity for increased public work. This will be a part of that intelligent mobilization of industry that the war has taught us.

The world is going to increase production and the social surplus and use that surplus to build the new world that is to rise upon the ruins of the one the war has destroyed.

CHAPTER VI

WOMEN AND THE WAR

IN savage society men fight and women work. This war returned society to a comparable stage on the upward spiral of social evolution. It brought more women into the industrial world during each year of its existence than did all of the twenty-five years preceding it. Once more the war accelerated a movement long under way. It is a commonplace of industrial history to observe that when weaving, spinning, dyeing, soap-making and other household industries left the home and moved to the factory woman followed them. It is also axiomatic that this change is the industrial explanation of that seething unrest and activity of one-half the race which we call the woman movement or feminism.

Not all women who lost their home work went to the factory. Some came to live a parasitic life upon the males to whom they were attached. These lost their work. They gave rise to another

form of unrest. The idle middle class and wealthy woman had no real place in the industrial foundation of the society in which she lived. She was a new phenomenon. She was herself a problem which she was trying to solve with great vehemence and exhibition of the energy which had been inhibited from normal industrial expression.

The war first staggered industry as with a blow. Factories closed and the unemployed poured out upon the streets. Then came the stage of feverish production. The war had reached back to industry. Soon the labor supply, already drawn upon heavily for the fighting front, was unable to supply the demand. The entire available male labor force was exhausted. This was something that had never before happened. In itself it produced far-reaching effects and taught lessons that will never be forgotten.

When it became evident that the battle of the factories was as important as that of the armies, that victory would ultimately go to the most powerful industrial force, there was a desperate cry for recruits for the shops, mines and farms. Soon the great reservoir of woman labor was drawn upon. The first to come were the women already engaged in industry. These simply transferred

their efforts from "unessential trades" to war industries.

There was a sudden desertion of domestic service, always disliked. For the comfort of those who are worrying about the servant problem the assurance may be offered, "They will never come back." The problem of household management must henceforth be solved without the servant element. Cheap electric power and the application of inventive genius to machinery for the performance of household tasks promises a much more desirable solution than the one which provided conversation for afternoon teas before the war.

At any rate the servant girl, manicures, hairdressers, the milliner's helper, the overworked department store clerk and the sweated seamstress, were the first to join their sisters who had found their way into the mechanical trades before the war. Soon this readjustment of workingwomen ran its course. It became necessary to tap new supplies. Patriotic appeals and high wages started a flood. Within four years nearly as many million women had entered the various forms of war work in England alone. Not all of these were in productive industry.

But in every warring nation they soon became

an important factor in munition work. Perhaps the most remarkable development was the easy rapidity with which they invaded the machinists' trade. This work has long been a closely guarded male perquisite. The writer has stood in munitions works in France and Italy and looked over literally acres of drill presses and lathes, engaged in the production of shells, with scarcely a man in the shop. At all such work women have shown a remarkable adaptability. Ugo Nanni, superintendent of the great F. I. A. T. works in Italy, and Andre Citroen, one of the largest munition makers in France, both assured the writer that after a few weeks women were equal in productive capacity to trained machinists. This is not surprising. The automatic machine has long ago abolished handicraft skill in standardized production.

Systems of technical training give women in a few weeks a really better preparation than is furnished by several years of so-called apprenticeship. In most cases the apprentice is nothing more than a cheap attendant of an automatic machine, landed in an industrial blind alley when his "apprenticeship" is finished.

Woman's extensive entrance into agriculture

during the war promises important changes in that industry. Of course the peasant women of Europe did not begin farm work as a fad when war came. They had worked in the fields for many centuries. But when women were drawn from other social classes it was necessary to modify antiquated methods if their labor was to be made available. The result has been a great overhauling of rural conditions of housing and labor. It has meant the introduction of better machinery and methods. It has required the establishment of special systems of agricultural education for rapid training of women workers.

Woman's contribution to the war was not confined to the industrial line. The story of the Red Cross nurses rivals in heroic sacrifice any tale of the trenches. The sight of the members of the Woman's Auxiliary Army Corps (the famous Waacs) marching in military formation close behind the fighting lines answers forever the cheap sneer that woman must prove her right to political power by fighting in defense of her country. The members of this organization work within range of the guns. They perform the tasks that are imposed upon men in the regular army as punishment. They do the cleaning, cooking,

mending and laundry work. Each one aims to release one more man for the fighting line, but they are themselves upon the fighting line. The "Wrens" perform a similar service for the navy.

Although these two services are the most spectacular they are performing no more essential service than any of the very many other organizations whose uniform and insignia are one of the most familiar sights in any English city.

In every nation involved it was but a short time until the reserve army of working-women was exhausted. New sources were quickly tapped. The largest supply was undoubtedly obtained from the class of semi-idlers previously mentioned. From these also came at once the great force of organizers and solicitors for the multitudinous war activities. Then they flocked into the Red Cross, Y. W. C. A. and similar bodies. In such work the organizing ability cultivated in the endless variety of rather futile clubs found an opportunity to do useful service.

To their everlasting honor, be it said, that this class did not stop with such work. In every closely pressed country the women of this previously idle class have also moved into the munition works and out upon the farms, in sufficiently large

numbers appreciably to affect production. They affected other social relations. The fact that quite large numbers of hitherto idle and somewhat parasitic women have for many months worked in the grime of machine shops and that this has carried social approval will make it less hard to enforce a rule of universal social service.

The first effect of a more rapid entrance of women into industry was to reduce wages. They were welcomed by employers as a means of lowering wage standards. The war became an excuse for abolishing factory regulations. In England the safeguards established by a generation of factory legislation were brushed aside in the first weeks of the great demand for munitions. Only when it was discovered that such unlimited exploitation wasted human material were some of these regulations restored.

It is seldom that an individual or a nation learns from another's experience. But thanks to the foresight of President Wilson and the watchfulness of organized labor the United States became an exception to this rule.

From the very beginning the safeguards about woman's work were increased rather than diminished by her entrance into war industry. The

Chief of Ordnance and Quartermaster General urged employers engaged in war production to observe certain rules. When such urging is backed by control over an employer's output it has been found even more effective than legislation. These rules are given below:

Existing legal standards should be rigidly maintained and even where the law permits a 9 or 10 hour day, effort should be made to restrict work of women to 8 hours.

The employment of women on night shifts should be prevented as a necessary protection, morally and physically.

No woman should be employed for a longer period than 4½ hours without a break for a meal, and a recess of 10 minutes should be allowed in the middle of each working period.

At least 30 minutes should be allowed for a meal, and this time should be lengthened to 45 minutes, or an hour if the working day exceed 8 hours.

Meals should not be eaten in the workroom.

One day of rest in seven should be considered an absolute essential for women under all conditions.

The observance of national and local holidays will give opportunity for rest and relaxation which tend to make production more satisfactory.

For women who sit at their work seats with back should be provided, unless the occupation renders this impossible. For women who stand at work, seats should be available and their use permitted at regular intervals.

No woman should be required to lift repeatedly more than 25 pounds in a single load.

When it is necessary to employ women in work hitherto done by men, care should be taken to make sure that the task is adapted to the strength of women. The standards of wages hitherto prevailing for men in the process should not be lowered where women render equivalent service. The hours of women engaged in such processes, of course, should not be longer than those formerly worked by men.

Standards already established in the industry and in the locality should not be lowered. The minimum wage rates should be made in proper relation to the cost of living, and in fixing them it should be taken into consideration that the prices of necessities of living have shown great increases.

No work shall be given out to be done in rooms used for living purposes or in rooms directly connected with living rooms in any dwelling or tenement.

When the War Labor Policies Board was created, to determine the principles upon which wage disputes should be settled it adopted most of these regulations and made some important additions. This body insisted that extraordinary efforts should not be made to draw women into industry until the supply of male labor had been actually exhausted, and that under no conditions should women be used to reduce the standard of wages.

The trade unions have, from the beginning,

thrown the whole of their great weight against every effort to degrade women through low wages, long hours and injurious conditions. The women who have gone into industry have entered the unions in large numbers. That fact is the greatest security for their protection against injurious conditions of labor. When organized they are able to protect themselves.

We have learned over and over that industry is as much a part of the national defense as fighting in the ranks. Therefore we will probably hear little more of the old argument that woman ought not to vote because she could not fight. War has given woman the power to take political equality. It is certain that she will have it quickly.

When suffrage is granted it will produce a strange new situation. Her political power will be given a novel potency by the fact that in most of the warring nations women will be in an absolute majority. England, the first of the warring nations to grant the vote to women, will also be the first great democracy to be ruled by women.

Most of the predictions dreaded or hoped for as a result of woman suffrage have failed of realization. Elections have shown that political and sex lines do not coincide. The one exception seems

to be that women look with greater favor than men upon legislation protecting the health and well-being of the community. We may hope, therefore, that the dominant woman's vote will prevent any retrogression in the legislation the war has brought for the protection of women and children and the improvement of labor.

No person who has walked the streets of any of the cities of our allies and seen the marching ranks of women workers, with a look of independence and decision such as women in the mass have never had before, but knows that these women will play a much different part in the world than they have played before. Nor will he doubt that the world itself will be much different.

In state and industry, and in every other social institution, woman will have equal power with man. To building the new world she will bring a vision undimmed by many of the petty, outgrown political prejudices that still dominate men. She will come inspired by a newly acquired freedom, ready for change and growth and filled with hatred of the institutions of the age that held her in subjection.

The work of recreating the world will be made easier by the great addition to its wealth which her labor will add. These millions of additional

laborers, using the improved machinery which the accelerated social progress of the war has brought, will give such added wealth as to make many things easy that have hitherto been impossible.

We have already seen that the foundation of the new society must rest upon greatly increased production. The greatest changes must come from an enlarged social surplus. The war has shown that women, youths and the aged can actually produce more than all the strong men have produced in time of a disorganized, competitive, profit-ruled society. Women who have learned this lesson will never again be turned aside from any work of social welfare with the excuse that funds cannot be found.

CHAPTER VII

THE FARM IN WAR

PEOPLES as well as armies go to war upon their stomachs. When all the world tried to go to war and left no one to tend the fields it was inviting a world famine. We had thought such things belonged to an earlier and cruder age. We reverted to the age of brutal combat and found that we had conjured up the ghost of famine.

“Food will win the war.” Food comes mostly from the farm. The mobilization of the farm, the organization of the production and distribution of food, utilizing the resources of the whole world and of all the transportation systems that tie the world together is perhaps the greatest triumph of organization the war has brought forth.

When at the close of the first year of the war the battling nations first began to envisage famine they tried to brush away the vision and trust to the hitherto inexhaustible supplies that had never failed to feed the peoples of the earth. With the entrance of the United States, the submarine as-

sassinations and the consequent simultaneous reduction in production, and destruction of the means of distribution, the problem became desperate.

In spite of much talk of modern agriculture, the industry as a whole is still disorganized, belated, wasteful and unintelligently conducted beyond anything known in other industrial lines. The war forced something more of order and system into the industry as a whole than many centuries of peaceful evolution had produced.

There had never been any organized effort to determine the needs of agricultural production. Still less had there been any regulation of the amount and character of production.

When war threatened famine every nation involved entered upon an almost hysterical campaign to increase food production. Frantic pleas to patriotism furnished the emotional element, with which was combined a most intensive campaign of education. An elaborate system of instruction embracing agricultural colleges, institutes, bulletins, extension workers, county agents and lectures was set up. Farm papers, posters, railway publicity departments, the schools, and agricultural societies were then mobilized for the

dissemination of information as to products needed and methods of increasing production. Most important of all in spurring to increased effort, prices went far above the peace level.

Yet very few "record-breaking" crops were harvested. Unpropitious weather and a shortage of labor were sufficient to offset most of the increased energy in production. The appeals were diffused through too wide circles and asked development where individualism so restricted expansion that less result was produced than in other fields.

No government possessed the courage and imagination to take unused land and cultivate it with organized armies of workers and power-driven machinery. Yet there were, in the United States alone, an acreage which might have been so used large enough to have almost, if not quite, met the entire shortage of food supplies.

Farm wage labor was mobilized with far greater success than privately owned farm plants. The Federal Employment Service, through the postoffices and rural carriers, organized a vast and fairly comprehensive system of labor supply. By so doing it showed the criminal wastefulness of maintaining armies of transient workers to "fol-

low the harvest." This army, the prey of all sorts of human vultures, was the foundation of the hopeless class of tramps. In spite of the war drafts upon labor and the extraordinary demands from the farms, this organization met the situation even better than it has been met in former years. Incidentally it insisted upon a higher standard of wages, hours and treatment for such labor. To permit this machinery to disintegrate and thereby restore the old conditions in this field would be an unpardonable reversion.

Had the war continued it is probable that an agricultural revolution comparable to that which won the Civil War for the Union would have followed. Horse drawn machinery in the harvest field won that war. Just as such machinery came under the spur of labor shortage in that war, so the same spur hastened the introduction of power-driven machinery into agriculture during the World War.

Over and over again as the writer traveled the length and breadth of the Po Valley in the summer of 1918 he was told: "Italy needs America's farm tractors almost as much as her fighting men. With enough of these we could still plant, cultivate and harvest our crops." One of the agricultural

supervisors of England said the same thing in terms changed only to fit the problems of the Midlands. The writer saw these same tractors on the fields of France within sound of the guns, and was assured that they were largely responsible for increased products during the last season of the war.

The shortage which will continue for several years after the war and the higher standard of living which must be assured to farm laborers must bring a great extension of the machine process in farming. This will require large sums of capital. Nearly every nation was preparing to supply this when the war came. Most have elaborated their systems during the war. Here is a movement in agriculture, analogous to that of the War Finance Board in other lines of industry, looking to the collection of the social surplus by the state, which then controls its supply and application in industry.

One of the great sources of such a social surplus is the remarkable increase in the value of land. In the decade before 1910 the value of farms, aside from improvements, in the United States increased from thirteen to twenty-eight billion dollars. This more than doubling means that in these ten

years a larger amount of wealth was absorbed by land owners than was added to the value of that land during all the years previous to 1910. Yet it was during this earlier period that the forests were cleared, the swamps drained, the prairie sod broken and all the work of taming a wilderness continent was accomplished. It is commonly estimated that this value again doubled in the eight years since 1910.

Here is a source of social income, accessible to a properly adjusted income tax, ample for any purpose proposed in connection with social progress. During the war the only effort to reach this was made through price-fixing, and this action was only incidentally directed at the absorption of value through land ownership.

That price fixing, which has done much to accelerate an already rapidly growing and very important movement toward standardization of farm products, must certainly be continued for some products. The British Reconstruction Committee recommends that prices, wages and rents in agriculture should all be fixed by bodies of local experts.

The whole world has been rationed during the

war. The inevitable continuance of this for some years will involve a world-wide regulation of agriculture. Such regulation will involve also a systematic investigation as to the best locations for certain crops and a consequent specialization in their production. This will bring more intensive agricultural education as well as cultivation and the wider use of machinery.

The lessons of the war will, nevertheless, tend to check any extreme specialization by nations. The effort to encourage manufactures in Great Britain reduced the cultivated land more than 5,000,000 acres between 1870 and 1914. The result was something close to a social catastrophe and famine when the German submarine reduced imports. It is now recognized that such industrial specialization to the neglect of agriculture really wastes labor in transportation.

The Reconstruction Committee of Great Britain has developed an elaborate plan for the increase of home grown foodstuffs. This committee brushes aside as unworthy of consideration all the old familiar arguments of ship and factory owners against such encouragement of home production.

This committee proposes a plan to bring unused

estates into cultivation that contains many suggestions for the utilization of arable, but unused, land anywhere. The report says:

If, in the course of the survey, it appeared to the Board of Agriculture that land (other than a public or private garden or park) was, from any cause, not being fully utilized for the production of foodstuffs or timber, notice should be served upon the owner of the land that if, after an interval of three years from the date of the notice, the position was still unsatisfactory, the case would be referred to the assessors.

After providing for the machinery of examination, taking evidence, etc., the report continues to explain the action in case it is found that the land is not being properly used:

We recommend that the Board of Agriculture should be empowered temporarily to supersede the landowner in the management of the estate for all purposes essential to agriculture.

In Great Britain, at least, the right of the private landowner to hold any section of the earth out of use when society needs it will not be much longer permitted.

The greatest value of the remarkable development of "war gardens" in America and "allotments" in Great Britain was in their contribution

to the solution of the problem of transportation, and in teaching the higher right of society to the use of vacant land. Yet in the midst of war thousands of acres of arable land lay vacant within twenty miles of Chicago.

The utilization of such now idle land under public direction offers a splendid opportunity for the organization of "agricultural armies," recruited from the youth of the cities and combining recreation, labor and education.

Every plan of reconstruction bases its demobilization plan upon the land. The armies of the Civil War were almost unobservably reintroduced to civilian life because "Uncle Sam was rich enough to give us all a farm." Uncle Sam has since squandered much of his patrimony, largely by bestowing it upon greedy corporations that now play dog in the manger to Samuel's flesh and blood nephews.

The machinery is already in process of creation by which to meet this problem. There are now state and interstate land commissions whose powers need but little extension to enable them to organize agriculture in such a manner as properly to care for the work of placing such returned soldiers as desire to enter upon farming.

To the interstate commission should be given the supervision of the reclaimed forest and other lands requiring federal care. The British reconstruction program gives a large place to forestry.

State forests afford an opportunity to supply work to the unemployed in times of industrial depression. They are excellent training grounds for use in connection with educational work. The United States already possesses some of the largest government owned forest areas in the world. The industries connected with them will be utilized to the utmost in caring for the demobilized military and industrial armies.

An interstate agricultural commission can arrange for coöperation between state commissions, recommend uniform legislation and advise as to the location of colonization schemes.

To state commissions, such as are already rising in many states, acting in conjunction with agricultural colleges, experiment stations and county agents, naturally falls the work of attending to the details of agricultural colonization, to the proper planning of agricultural settlements, the regulation of real estate schemes, the examination and certification as to the character of soils and their relation to the market, and the management of

the great real estate transactions in which every modern state must inevitably be engaged in the near future. Nearly every European state is already the largest landowner and dealer within its dominions. The British Reconstruction Committee has one sub-committee devoting its time to investigating the best methods by which the state can acquire land.

Only by such conscious planning and control by the state can any system of land settlement of returned soldiers be carried out or production extended and prices controlled in the near future. Without such action even rationing will fail to avert famine over large sections of the world and such wild fluctuations of prices as will invite industrial chaos.

We now know that a piece of land is not a farm. It may have been more nearly one in pioneer days. To-day a farm includes machinery, live-stock, buildings, seed, roads and a market. Every plan of land settlement must involve the furnishing of all these things.

The coming of the tractor, with the whole list of accompanying power-driven machinery and improved methods of farming, has opened a vista at the not distant end of which lies a new vision of

farming. We have a vast army of agricultural experts, most of whom are still occupied only as advisers to real farmers. With these as actual directors of farm armies of returned soldiers, or young men and women organized in agricultural armies, after training in short intensive farm courses, it will be possible to open up any desirable tracts of reclaimed or redeemed land, using the great machinery that more than trebles the production and income of each worker.

The great agricultural coöperatives of Reggio Emilia, Italy, are already doing this. These organizations of Italian peasants bought out old estates at very high prices. Yet they were able to add to the acreage year after year until they have built up the largest agricultural undertakings in Italy, if not in the world. Paying interest on this inflated value does not prevent the earning by each coöperator of far larger wages than individual operation yields. In addition the coöperators receive educational, social, medical, insurance and other benefits wholly impossible among dispersed individual farmers.

There is ample land for such experiments in the United States without touching the margin of cultivation. Under the direction of the commissions

already in existence, they would form model farms and research stations, as well as great educational and training establishments and the nucleus of a new and higher stage in agriculture.

CHAPTER VIII

WHAT WAR TAUGHT THE SCHOOLS

WHEN the whole world goes to school much is learned about pedagogy as well as other things. When democratic, non-military nations set about teaching themselves the science and art of war with destruction the penalty of failure, and when that science and art involves every social unit, old methods of teaching as well as doing must justify themselves or perish.

Schools had been set apart from life. They had been as completely as possible insulated from home, industry, amusement and the state. A few educators, like John Dewey, had taught that the school should be a part of life and of every part of life. Here and there this had been partially translated into action, as in the famous Gary schools. But on the whole the old semi-monastic idea of seclusion was giving way but slowly.

The war made it necessary to educate millions of adults under a pressure so great that individual lives were almost the smallest things at stake.

These had to be taught specific, immediately practical things. Then arose, among many other things, the pedagogy of "intensive" training. Its results were so marvelous that it became a pedagogic cult. All things began to be done "intensively." It was found that by adaptation of methods progressive educators have urged for a generation, men could be taught in weeks what had been thought to require months and years.

The most spectacular results were obtained in the wonderful Reserve Officers' Training camps. More than once, even in July, 1918, fainthearted pacifists in allied nations assured the writer that while there would be no lack of men and money in America's contribution, her officers would be sadly inefficient compared with those produced by the marvelous "supermen" of the German military colleges.

The training camps gave the answer. Large bodies of men from civil life, few with more than the rudiments of military training, under a competitive and patriotic spur that drove every muscle and brain cell to its utmost capacity of exertion, gained, within a few weeks, a grasp of a trade that tradition maintains can be achieved only in as many years. They then became the teachers of

the millions of the citizens' army. Now all have proved the thoroughness of their training in the bloody mud of France.

But military maneuvers are but a small, though critically important, part of the things a nation must learn when it mobilizes all its strength for battle. Certain trades suddenly demanded expansion to ten and a hundred fold their peace strength. The demand for aviators, engineers, electricians, telegraphers, seamen and a dozen other trades leaped beyond all relation to peace times. There was the most vital need of quickly reaching and thoroughly educating the entire community on a large number of important and intricate subjects. The people were taught the reasons for and the methods of food conservation and increased production, war loan savings and civilian relief work. The causes that led this nation into the war had to be explained and told to millions if popular support was to be assured.

All these movements drew the school from its isolation, linked it tight to the living present and made it an integral part of the society in which it existed. Schools everywhere entered immediately into and became a part of the great stream of social thought they were assisting in consciously

directing. They were with this stream while it still ran fresh from its source, before it had been confined in the casks of conventional educational receptacles.

Everywhere schools became an essential part of the nation's fight for existence. The vocational schools, already most closely adapted to the coming educational methods, were the first to respond. Their manual training departments were mobilized for the quick production of electricians, machinists, shipbuilders, telegraphers and a whole host of new and desperately needed craftsmen.

Cooking schools were linked up with food conservation campaigns. They led in organizing canning clubs. They put their apparatus at the disposal of neighborhoods for social production and conservation of food products. They suddenly found their clientele embracing whole communities.

Under such a pressure the old divisions as to time as well as students disappeared. Many schools were open almost night and day and omitted the customary vacations. They were learning that the life of a community never stops, and that whatever is related to that life must also be continuous.

The school as an institution was mobilized with all its functions and fitted into the great national battle line. It became an integral part of such campaigns as those centering around "war gardening," "thrift stamps," and the Red Cross. It was used to take censuses of neighborhoods, to distribute information throughout the community, and became a workshop for whatever the community was doing. In such work the pupils became teachers, disseminating the information supplied at the central educational ganglia.

There could be no distinction according to age in such education. Soon other social organs were joined with the school in reaching the masses of the people. "Four Minute Men," theaters, moving pictures, the skill of advertising men, poster artists, editors, professional men—all were pressed into service, teaching and being taught.

In this connection a place was quickly found for the non-technical schools. The classes in history, civics, reading and composition found a center of interest and a unity in war subjects. The national government, through its department of education, prepared special material for this work. In so doing it took occasion to introduce the whole

evolutionist view of society into the minds of the pupils. Later the Committee on Public Information, itself a stupendous engine of popular education, called upon the services of the foremost historians and writers to prepare material that has found a place in the curriculum of hundreds of thousands of schools.

The higher institutions of learning were mobilized even before the lower grades. Before the war came to us the same thing had taken place in the universities of the nations that had been longer in the war. Oxford and Cambridge had sent their students and their faculties to war and, whether in bloody combat or in the at least equally necessary combat of laboratories and libraries, they had done splendid service.

Here too the same distinction that was apparent between technical and literary schools of lower grades was evident. As one observer has excellently expressed it: "The college of individualism . . . mobilized through its individuals, while the college of service mobilized itself." The classical college, apart from the world, but feeling the tremendous tug of world events, almost disbanded, sacrificing itself, its organization and peculiar in-

stitutional value, and sending its faculty and students into whatsoever war institutions most needed their services.

The technical college and university, and those other educational institutions that had learned that there is an especial value in the machinery created for educational purposes, and that this is something to be used by society, proceeded to perfect their own organization and presented it as an equipped social unit ready for the general mobilization. These institutions were already an integral part of the nation. Their teaching force, methods, equipment, organization and students needed only to learn new evolutions to become integrated in the national defense.

Such institutions established aviation schools that in the work of training flyers and designing and building machines were at work long before the specialized military institutions created for the same purpose could get started. Their laboratories were discovering new methods of meeting the menaces of submarine and poison gas within a few weeks after America entered the war. Their faculties of history, economics, languages and sociology had directed the trained minds, equipment and organization to war problems al-

most as soon as Congress had completed its formal work of placing the nation in the war.

It was from the quickly organized special courses in such institutions that the first great draft of skilled and specialized workers in engineering, chemistry, store management, and all the host of other occupations now so essential to the prosecution of war were drawn.

Without the work of the trained minds of the schools this nation, and every nation involved, would have fallen so far short of bringing its full force to bear as to have invited defeat from whatsoever nation did mobilize its intellectual establishments. From the schools and universities came a great army of trained thinkers, whose minds were stored with the munitions needed in the new methods of warfare. There is not a department of the war administration that has not been directly dependent upon the teaching staff of our great universities.

A report to the Council of National Defense by Dr. S. P. Capen of the Council's Committee on Engineering and Education, testifies to this fact in the following words:

The university teachers who have been called from the class room and the laboratory to become the expert ad-

visers of the Army, Navy, the War Industries Board, the Food Administration, and of nearly every other branch of the Government engaged in preparing for and waging war are to be numbered literally by hundreds. They are rendering services which none but men so trained can render. They are indispensable. The effect of this service on the status of the university professor in the public mind will be revolutionary.

Yet it was where whole colleges were mobilized and the faculties and facilities of the institution were retained intact that the greatest ultimate service was rendered. This was seen in the second year of the war when the revolutionary work of the Students' Army Training Corps was undertaken. Then the entire educational plant of the nation was utilized for training the youngest class of the great second draft army. More than 100,000 boys were sent to higher institutions of learning, most of whom would never have passed within college walls had it not been for the war. The training of these boys is revolutionizing the universities as well as pedagogy, pupils and the whole idea of higher education.

As a result of all these developments the teacher is gaining in public esteem, in closer relation to society and to all human values. The public is gaining a better idea and a higher valuation of

educational work and the school as a whole is coming to be a part of the very framework of the social structure. It is a real participant, sharing all the fortunes and impulses of the great social struggle.

This revolutionary impulse is touching every warring nation. "A world-wide movement to perfect the whole scheme of public education is resulting from the war," says the report of United States Commissioner of Education for 1917. "The fact that this movement is being carried forward even while the nations are engaged in the exhausting conflict shows the changed conception of the social worth of education." He continues:

France and England are engaged in simultaneous reorganization of their respective systems of public education, and the continuation school projects now pending in the parliaments at Paris and London are essentially identical. They both introduce universal compulsory schooling of general and vocational character. The English bill provides, in addition, for an extension and perfection of elementary school compulsion. The German "Einheitschule" movement, aiming at a democratization of the school system of that country, has made most important progress during the war. In Russia new schools are being organized everywhere. In Italy the elementary system is undergoing extension, and provision has been made for instruction of illiterate adults.

In education, as in government and industry, the war between nations and within nations is between autocracy and democracy. In the midst of war the school ceased to be an exclusive institution. Its curriculum is no longer fitted to train a few for a superior class. Its work is no longer confined to children. Its results are henceforth to be judged by their effect upon the common welfare. The school is leaving the special plant in which it has hitherto been cloistered. It is going out into the highways, to the shop and home to carry its message and serve the society of which it is a part.

Here, as at many other points, the reaction from all things German hastens the movement. German Kultur propaganda long sung the praise of German educational systems. This propaganda had invaded our normal schools, almost dominated our technical pedagogical journals and monopolized popular press comment on education. We now know that the German educational system was as antiquated and unfitted for free peoples as the divine right idea of the Kaiser. We know that its system of social stratification was as cunningly designed to secure the subserviency of the masses, to make them mere mechanical thinkers and actors, as was the military system. We have seen its

effect upon a working-class, that learned its very revolutionary phrases by rote, as it learned its history and geography, and which was helpless when confronted with a situation not covered by the phrases. By teaching the world what it does not want German education has emphasized the need of freedom and development and democracy in education, government and social thought.

The new pedagogy has tried to teach the world for some time that just as the school belongs to society, so education, and systematic conscious education, is not wholly a matter of formal systems and institutions. The new educational institutions and methods that have grown out of the war and outside the schools, are illustrating the same pedagogical principle. The solution of new tasks develops new educational methods.

This has been true in the Officers' Training Camps and in the various systems of teaching the citizen army. The training of "employment managers" already described, and the candidates for many other new professions, has demanded a new technique.

Men must be selected for war tasks according to fitness. Mistakes are terribly costly, not only to the individual, as in civil life, but to the nation.

Therefore it becomes necessary to evolve new methods of selection. The method of selecting possible candidates for non-commissioned officers consists in a series of standardized mental tests planned to show just what characteristics are possessed by the individual soldiers. The same plan has been developed to a much higher degree in the selection of men for the aviation service. An elaborate set of apparatus has been constructed and a large variety of tests tried out. It has been demonstrated that these methods make it possible to eliminate at once a great many persons as incapable of certain lines of work, or at least of gaining proficiency without a disproportionate amount of labor.

Here is a suggestion filled with most wonderful promise in determining aptitudes for various vocations. If each individual child could have, when the time to choose a vocation arrives, a complete report of his physical and intellectual capacities in various directions it would certainly prove a safeguard against the multitude of "misplaced pegs" now so characteristic of our industrial life. This does not by any means imply that any compulsion should be exercised in the selection of the vocation which this information might indicate as

most appropriate. It would only furnish a series of extremely valuable guide-posts.

These tests are already playing a great part in the elaborate systems of reëducation developed for the training of injured soldiers. Here too is an entirely new technique from which it is certain other educational work will derive great assistance. To these schools also will come, in the future, the multitude injured in the field of industry. These now amount to about 50,000 killed and 2,000,000 injured each year, more than the losses of the American Expeditionary Force.

Experience has shown that the additional special training often enables a crippled man to perform more highly paid work than he could while uninjured. In every instance possible he is at least restored to something of a normal relation to society and is not forced to rely upon charity.

Analogous to this are many other systems of education of adults. We have suddenly awakened to the existence of millions of immigrants in this country who are barred by lack of knowledge of a common language from taking their proper place in the national life. This, again, is creating a new system of education, reaching new classes, requiring new methods and promising new possibilities.

We are beginning to realize that a people that cannot talk to itself, in which the members have no equality of training and which is divided by so great differences of knowledge of the working of our social machinery, is lacking in some extremely fundamental characters of a true and effective democracy.

When all these lines of development are examined they are seen to focus upon a vision of a new education. That education must embrace all ages, work day and night, include all subjects of interest to humanity and live and grow and be a part of every organ of society. It must be itself a social feeler, reaching out and testing all things and proving whether they be good or bad. It must contain departments of social research and experiment, as well as of chemical, physical and industrial invention. It must succeed in combining education, production and amusement—an ideal educators have long been striving to attain.

Every factory must be a part of the school system, every school a productive unit. The intensive methods used to train workers for war production have gone far toward making this possible. Many factories already have educational departments. The Americanization movement has en-

listed the coöperation of many industries which conduct classes in English upon time paid for by the firms. The whole "part time" system of education, now being widely extended, is moving along the same line.

This whole process will be greatly accelerated, just in proportion as the profit element is removed from industry and the social element substituted.

The Students' Army Training Corps has opened to view another vision. There has been much clamoring for universal military service. If the writer knows anything of the mind of the mass of the people of this country and Europe any effort to introduce conscription at the close of this war will mean such a revolt of labor as has never been seen. The workers have fought to end militarism. They will fight to keep it from being revived under whatsoever guise.

But the "land armies," "farm cadets," and various other semi-military industrial organizations and especially the Students' Army Training Corps, point to the possibility of the realization of what has often been suggested in recent years—conscription for service and education. More than 100,000 boys who would never have entered the walls of a college have been sent there for

several months because they were being introduced into military service.

Why should not the age of compulsory education be raised to eighteen, a proposal already under active consideration in many countries? Then why should not the graduate from High School be conscripted for college, industrial training and production, for the next two years at least? The new systems of training, involving production and education, training for service by serving, are ready to fit into such a plan. With socially operated industries, the labor performed by these youths would produce far more than the cost of their education. When their service was finished they would be infinitely more valuable members of society.

If it is possible for nations to bear the burden of training its youth for destruction, how much more easily it could train them for constructive service. There have been many suggestions along this line. It has been proposed to organize industrial armies of reclamation, that should redeem the desert and the swamp, plant and care for great forests, span the nation with broad highways. It was a part of this idea that Ruskin had grasped when he led the Oxford students out to work upon

the roads. Another part is involved in the whole scheme of universal military service. It is all involved in the new idea, grown to conquering strength in the midst of war, that society must train its members throughout their life in whatsoever part they may be playing, in order that each individual and the nation as a whole may have a fuller, better life.

CHAPTER IX

SAVING LIFE IN WAR

IN slogans, wars may be won with potatoes, wheat, meat, money or ships. In real life they are finally won with human lives upon the fighting line. These form the tip of the national spear. It is true that it is driven home by the power of all the resources, energy and spirit of the nation behind. But if the tip is blunted all else is in vain. The nation that can hurl the largest number of best equipped and mentally and physically strongest bodies against the enemy will win.

Therefore human life is most valuable when it must be spent most lavishly. In which it is very like other things. It is a commonplace that in all previous wars disease has slain more than bullets, or all the other devices of the enemy. It was only in the Russo-Japanese War that nations came to realize that it was possible to economize human material for fighting by protecting it carefully from disease.

Then began a revolution in the medical care of

armies. That movement reached its height in this war. There have been blunders that have cost life, but there has been a marvelous application of the principles of sanitation and hygiene. So great have been the precautions against disease, and so perfect the care for the wounded that there is no national army of which it is so dangerous to have been a member during the war as it was to have belonged to the army of railroad brakemen in the United States before the days of air-brakes and automatic couplers.

Every surgical journal brings evidence that the horrible wholesale clinic conducted with millions of subjects is at least bringing assurance of a vast decrease of suffering in the future. The writer visited the great hospital at Neuilly, France. There were more than 2,000 patients. Not a groan was heard. Hundreds testified that pain had been banished. There were no plaster casts. Instead there was a host of ingenious devices designed to abolish pain and hasten recovery. Nearly all these had been invented since the war.

The almost miracle working Carrel-Dakin fluid, reducing the treatment of wounds to a matter of mathematical calculation and a 99 per cent. successful healing, was a purely war product, but it

will remain through centuries of peace. New methods of diagnosis with the X-ray and electrical instruments for locating foreign bodies have been produced under the fearful stress of war.

Countenances were being rebuilt. Human faces were being literally re-created from hideous caricatures of humanity. Photographs of those previously treated showed that what but a few years ago would have been considered miracles were being accomplished daily. Faces blown almost to fragments were being built up bit by bit with sections of bone and flesh taken from other portions of the patient's own body.

The knowledge gained at any one point is swiftly disseminated through all the thousands of army physicians, and quickly spreads back to benefit the civilian population. For the tens of thousands of surgeons in every army this war is a stupendous graduate course under the foremost physicians and surgeons of the world. It is a terrible price to pay for such a course. Having paid it, however, it would be doubly criminal to neglect its lessons.

But a small part of the work of medical science in war is surgery and rebuilding of bodies. The great word in that science to-day is prophylaxis,

which means prevention. Typhoid, gangrene, wound infection, typhus and malaria were once the most deadly enemies of every army. To-day inoculation, with inspection and treatment of water for drinking, prevents typhoid. Cleanliness abolishes typhus, gangrene and infection. Malaria is fought by a flank attack upon mosquitoes. Social diseases, once the great scourge of every army, have been fought so energetically that the percentage of these diseases is much less among the soldiers than among the civilian population.

It is only when some comparatively new ailment, like Spanish Influenza, makes a surprise attack that death is able to gain any important victories through disease.

All these lessons will be of especial value in civil life. In mobilizing physicians, making them public servants, erecting great institutions for the care of hundreds of thousands of persons and staking the existence of society upon the ability to keep millions in fighting condition, we have created an organization that will be of almost inestimable value in civil life. In medicine, surgery and sanitation, as in industry, the war has substituted order for chaos, intelligent direction for haphazard development.

That this portion of the vision is well on the way to realization is shown by the remarkable plan outlined by Surgeon General Rupert Blue in Public Health Report, No. 39, issued September 27, 1918.

The essential portions of this proposed national health campaign are set forth by George M. Price, M.D., in the *Survey*, Oct. 19, 1918, in such excellent form as to deserve the most detailed and careful study. He says:

The proposed expansion of the United States Public Health service, as outlined in the surgeon-general's report, involves a national control of rural, municipal, railway and industrial sanitation, the prevention of certain diseases through national efforts, a uniform control and standards of water, milk and sewage disposal systems, a uniform collection of morbidity reports, the adoption of minimum national health standards and a nation-wide campaign of health education.

Rural, municipal, railway and industrial sanitation are to be under the control of the Public Health Service.

As to rural sanitation, it is proposed to give federal aid for extending the establishment of adequate country town organizations, for the detail of especially trained officers to coöperate with local health authorities in extensive campaigns for sanitation, for the study of improved methods of rural sanitation and for the widespread dissemination of rules for the improvement of rural communities and populations.

The project as to municipal sanitation recommends a campaign for the full time employment of health officers, the enactment of laws on and the enforcement of reporting communicable diseases, the provision for safe water and milk supplies and of sewage disposal, the establishment of community health centers, and the coöperation with municipal authorities in all improvements of municipal conditions

In respect to railway sanitation, it is proposed to consolidate under the Public Health Service all railway sanitation, including the protection of the public by sanitary supervision of milk, water and food supplies the sanitation of stations, terminals, and the prevention of the spread of communicable diseases.

The program as to industrial sanitation and medicine includes the establishment by the service, in coöperation with the Department of Labor, of minimum standards of industrial hygiene and the prevention of occupational diseases; the improvement of the sanitation of industrial communities; the medical and sanitary supervision by the Public Health Service of civil and industrial establishments owned and operated by the federal government; the establishment of dispensaries and hospital facilities for the use of government employees, and the securing of adequate medical and surgical supervision of employees in industrial establishments by competent medical men, to be appointed as officers of the Public Health Service, to be paid a nominal salary by the Public Health Service, to be supplemented by the industrial establishment.

The diseases, the prevention of which the project includes, are malaria, typhoid fever, hook-worm, pellagra,

tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and diseases of infancy and childhood.

Disease prevention is to be accomplished by the dissemination of knowledge of disease and the methods of control, by country-wide surveys, the appointment of a corps of expert diagnosticians, the establishment of clinics, dispensaries and hospitals, and the diagnosis and free distribution of certain remedies (this applies to venereal diseases); also the hospitalization of cases of tuberculosis, whenever practicable, for the extension of active propaganda and traveling clinics. In the case of diseases of infancy and childhood, the promotion of prenatal care, the accurate registration of all births, the educational measures for adequate care of babies at home, and the instruction of mothers by visiting nurses provided for, likewise the care of children of pre-school and school age.

In the matter of water supply, the project mentions a nation-wide campaign for safe water supply by extensive surveys of water supplies, laboratory analysis where necessary, the introduction and extension of methods of water purification, and the stimulation of communities to receive safe water supply through local and national organizations.

A nation-wide campaign for safe milk is to be undertaken through an adequate inspection of production and distribution of milk and the establishment of municipal plants for pasteurization and distribution.

Proper sewage disposal will, according to the project, tend to control intestinal diseases such as typhoid fever, dysentery, diarrhea and hook-worm. National campaigns for safe methods are proposed for the extension

of water-carriage sewage systems wherever practicable, elimination, within municipal limits, of cesspools and privies, installation of sanitary privies in rural communities, and the establishment of minimum standards of permissible pollution of streams, lakes, etc.

The project recommends the establishment of uniform health standards for communicable diseases, industrial hygiene, sewage disposal, water supplies and purification, community sanitation, illumination, heating and ventilation of public buildings and schools, also a nation-wide campaign of health education.

Wherever possible the project involves the coöperation of the United States Public Health Service, with the Red Cross national and state organizations, the Council of National Defense, national and state, the state and municipal health departments, state industrial commissions, medical corps, and the state and national health associations.

Here is a rounded out plan for the application of the principle of conscious, systematic social control, which is one of the most important results of the war. Nearly everything here suggested has been previously advocated. A beginning has been made upon most of them. But it has been as an incoherent, isolated, individualistic process. The war created a mammoth national health organization. To this organization was confided the care of millions of men in the army cantonments and camps, at home and overseas, of the many more

millions of men and women engaged in special war-work and of the communities in which these lived.

This program is nominally to be concentrated upon those who are engaged in some sort of war work. But it manifestly will find these so comprehensive in numbers and location that the entire people and all their institutions must be included.

Such a program, carried out in all the warring nations, and something of the kind is already under way in Great Britain and France, will save more lives in the next three years than the war took. In the infant death rate alone there is room for even greater things. In the United States and the nations of western Europe, the infant death rate is between 150 and 200 per thousand for the first year. New Zealand has better than halved this rate. There have been instances of French municipalities, where a Socialist mayor insisted upon using all the facilities of science to care for mothers and their children, where there was not a single death under one year of age for a two year term. This record is, so far as we know now, impossible to maintain for any long period, or in any large community. But it can be closely approached.

Were even the New Zealand rate introduced into

the United States and the other warring nations the lives lost in battle would be replaced in a single year. In its campaign for infant protection, the United States Children's Bureau estimates that proper care would save the lives of 500,000 babies annually.

The war has made these things easily possible. It has given us the great body of facts upon which to base action. It will be a generation before we will have digested all the revelations made through the examination of the millions of men for military service. The fact that almost thirty per cent. were unable to pass the standard necessary to permit entrance into the army shows a condition that is a terrible indictment of our industrial and social life.

The training of tens of thousands of Red Cross nurses and the less thorough, but nevertheless valuable, partial training of millions of other women and girls in principles of hygiene, through Red Cross work, has laid a foundation for a great health movement. It will give the popular intelligence necessary to democratic support. It will supply the experts needed for local management.

While this training has been furnished to the women at home the men have been given an in-

finitely more intensive training in health measures. Every soldier has been taught how to care for himself. He has been taught habits of cleanliness and caution, the danger of infection from filth and foul water.

As the writer traveled from Château Thierry towards Soissons in August, 1918, he saw a placard above every well that stated whether it was fit to drink or not. Why should not every well in this country be similarly inspected and labeled? There is a "sick call" every morning and any soldier who is in need of medical attention is given it promptly and efficaciously. His care is in no way related to his financial condition. No one asks whether he is able to pay for the care of a physician, for hospital service or for remedies.

Nor does any soldier feel that he is accepting "charity" when he is cared for in an army hospital. This is because no distinction is permitted. What reason is there why such care should not be extended to all citizens after the war? The creation of a system of social insurance, such as now exists in Great Britain, involves the organization of medical service and the care for the public health under governmental direction. It means that a large force of doctors become public em-

ployees and that the maintenance of the health of the community is a public duty.

We wisely spent billions in war to preserve the health and strength of the men for the fighting line. We can much better spend even larger sums to insure the strength and well-being of the entire population for constructive production. Organized society seems never to have wholly settled the question of whether "life is worth the living." This war seems to have forced a reconsideration of the question. It is possible that it will be settled in the affirmative, and that the resources of society will be systematically, intelligently and coöperatively devoted to increasing and applying the knowledge of how to insure a longer and a fuller life to its citizens.

CHAPTER X

THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM

IN the midst of the fierce conflict of nations was born a new and broader internationalism than any dreamed of by earlier seers of visions. Socialists had talked much of internationalism before the war. Even their enemies hoped that their ties might be strong enough to hold nations back from war. Now we know that what existed was really a sort of *supernationalism*, lacking any firm hold upon the machinery of national control.

The Socialist international was to be formed above, or beneath, and outside national boundaries. It was to grow together out of the linking of the workers of all nations. These workers were to carry on the class struggle across national lines and unite for the overthrow of international capitalists. These *supernational* ties of labor were to grow ever stronger until a horizontal stratification of labor made possible the overthrow of the exploiting class everywhere.

Such a *supernational* movement sought to form

a world state ruled by the proletariat before that proletariat had captured a single national state. Looking upon all national governments and distinctions as obstacles to the realization of its dream, such a movement was bound to be anti-national. Nations were not units to be joined in an international government, but opposing institutions to be swallowed up in the world state. Out of this philosophy rose such cries as: "Labor has no country;" "We have but one enemy and that the capitalist"; and that famous slogan, "Workmen of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain."

That slogan was formulated in 1847. There was then no labor legislation worthy of the name. The first agitation for the protection of factory children was but started. Women could be mercilessly exploited. There was, outside of a few States of the American Union, no universal suffrage. The Holy Alliance had not yet disappeared. The coöperative movement consisted of but twenty-eight Rochdale weavers, who had met but three years before to found an establishment that was destined to grow into the biggest business in the world, and that controlled by labor. Trade unions, just removed from outlawry, were too weak

to have any great influence upon the condition of labor. The ten-hour law, which the maker of that slogan was himself to designate as a "revolution," had not been suggested in Parliament. There was almost no sign of that quickening of the social consciousness and conscience and the crystallizing of the aroused sentiment into action in the vast mass of legislation on health, housing, municipal administration, restriction of exploitation and all the fields of social welfare, that, while still leaving much that needs improvement, had revolutionized the world of 1847.

In these seventy years labor has gained a mighty stake in many nations. In Australia, New Zealand, England, France, the United States and all other democratic nations it has as much as its intelligence has enabled its voting majority to obtain. All that hinders further advance is its own ignorance. Labor in such nations now has much besides its chains to lose.

Long before the war the old internationalism was losing its influence in democratic nations. The machinery of the organization was dominated by Germany and Austria. But it was the workers of just these nations who knew least, from experience, of democracy, and who had never learned to

share in any real governmental powers. It is suggestive that practically all socialist theoretical works on democracy and internationalism, before the war, were written by citizens of nations in which the working-class, for which the writers presumed to speak, had almost no experience in democracy or influence upon the governments.

Meanwhile there had grown up within the democracies of the world a practical, powerful, achieving, constructive labor movement that was laying the foundations of a genuine internationalism. It was doing this by making each nation fit for union with all other democratic nations. The workers of Australasia, where labor is most powerful, and where more of the planks in the practical program of international socialism have been written into laws than anywhere else in the world, never even sent delegates to the International Socialist Congresses. Neither did the American Federation of Labor, although it had gained a higher standard of living for its membership than was enjoyed by the workers of any European nation. The powerful English trades unions were but little less indifferent. But the oppressed workers of Germany and Austria-Hungary, where autocracy ruled, where the death-rate was highest

and standards of living lowest, where hours of labor were longest and the political influence of labor confined to books and speeches, were the insolent, dominating forces in determining the policies of the International.

The war brought this situation to a crisis. The doctrinaire followers of democratic phrases, made in autocratic Germany, were everywhere unable to comprehend the issues of the war. They were either pro-German or negatively obstructionist and pacifist. Denied all knowledge of a working constructive action, they tended to find refuge in the undemocratic catastrophic chaos of Bolshevism.

There is not the slightest doubt that in the winter of 1917-18 these tendencies reached a point that gave autocracy its greatest hope of victory. Misled by the international phrases and dazzled by the Bolshevik rocket, a large section of the Socialists of Italy, France and England were ready to believe that German and Austrian Socialists would join in an international revolution to end the war and establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the whole vision of supernationalism. There is also little doubt that had such a move taken place there would have been no revolu-

tion in Germany, whose Socialists had not yet shown any sign of distrust in the power of autocratic militarism or faith in their own ability to act, and that Prussian imperialism would have been victorious.

Against this tendency there was in every allied nation a rallying of such Socialists as had seen the end from the beginning, who still believed in democracy and evolution and the power of organized labor to move steadily forward, and not in any autocratic "dictatorship of the proletariat," gained by a Bolshevik *coup d'état*. These saw that the war itself was accomplishing a social revolution that promised liberty and democracy. The organized workers of America and the British self-governing democracies that had previously held apart from any international movement threw their powerful influence into the scale.

It was this only partially developing new International that stood with President Wilson and the great mass of the American people in favor of an energetic prosecution of the war and a just and democratic peace.

It is significant that the Socialist Party of the United States was not invited to the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference at London, Feb-

ruary 20th to 24th, 1918. Its antiquated dogmatism and pro-German pacifism had caused it to be recognized as no longer representative of either Socialism or labor in the United States. Instead the American Federation of Labor was asked to send delegates. The invitation was received too late for action. A later conference, London, September 17th to 20th, was called at the direct suggestion of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who was then present with a representative delegation. The American Socialist Party was still excluded and it is significant that the Official Socialist Party of Italy, the only rival of the American party in dogmatic pacifism, and that was largely responsible for the rout of Caporetto, refused to send delegates.

This was the beginning of a transformation in the old idea of a Socialist International. Upon one side are arrayed the adherents of dogmatic, antiquated Marxism, grafted upon a wholly contradictory, because autocratic and catastrophic, Bolshevism. Opposed to these is a constantly growing mass of Socialists, some of whom are much inclined to reject the name as an incubus, who see in the mighty changes of the war and re-

construction as great steps toward industrial democracy as it is possible to take suddenly without invoking a chaos that must end in reaction.

Within this growing section will be found the organized workers of the English speaking world, hitherto outside or critically indifferent to the Socialist International. With them are great masses of forward-looking people in every nation. These will be strong enough in the future to overcome any remnants that may appear of German dogmatism and bureaucracy. This international will lay less emphasis upon sterile parliamentarism than the old Socialist movement. It will look largely to the use of the new administrative organs that we have observed growing up in the warring nations. It will depend even more upon the direct power of the unions to gain through collective bargaining.

This new movement starts with a solid foundation of at least fifteen million organized men and women workers. It is the accepted leader of twice as many more.

Its original purpose was to win the war. It contributed to that end at a most critical period. It knows that the war to be truly won must be fought out at least twice more; once at the peace

table, and again through the long years of reconstruction.

The new International does not propose to fight these battles against its governments. It is a part and a large part of those nations. The new International of labor proposes to bind the nations themselves together.

The war created bonds whose strength we will not appreciate for generations. Millions of American boys in France and England, hundreds of thousands of Australian, New Zealand and South African workers in England, France, Saloniki and the Dardanelles, millions of English laborers in almost every corner of the earth; such a comingling and mixture of humanity as even this uneasy old earth has never known before, is certain to produce some new and important human products.

The new International will be a union of democratic nations. It will be a part of the League of Nations that will have control of international mail and banking, of ocean highways and shipping, aviation and submarine navigation, colonies, wireless, food and material rationing, and all the interlocking duties that belong to the relations of nations. In all these labor will share, and its

share will grow with its power, its intelligence and the decline of all forces save those that prove their right to power by service rendered.

Such an internationalism will have its feet set deep in the earth. But its head may rise as high above the clouds as any world state of which poets and prophets have dreamed.

CHAPTER XI

A POSITIVE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

SOME sort of a league of nations is sure to be formed as a result of the war. As already pointed out labor is unanimous upon this point. Every Socialist organization of any importance in the world has demanded such a league. The Pope and the Anglican church have joined in the demand. President Wilson, the most powerful individual in the world at this moment, has made it one of the conditions of peace. Influential organizations and individuals and officials in every nation have declared that such a league must come into existence.

The methods of fighting the war are a still greater security for the formation of some sort of international organization. Mathematicians know that in a two dimension world, having only length and breadth, a line would suffice to imprison its two dimension citizens. They would know neither height to rise above nor depth in which to dig below such a line. Our civilization was

hitherto largely two dimension. Boundary lines imprisoned two dimension nations, customs, languages, "Kulturs." Submarines diving beneath the surface of the sea enable a national assassin to destroy such a civilization. Aircraft disdain boundaries confined to two dimensions. The wireless uses the ether across nations, seas and continents, with no regard for any lines the old two dimension civilization may have scratched upon the surface of the earth.

In such a world a war that uses all the achievements of science and invention, that conquers the air above and the water beneath the surface of the earth and the ether waves that vibrate between the very particles of the globe, can destroy any puny civilization that man has based upon national boundary lines. This war has not touched the beginnings of the possibilities of destructiveness. Only during its last years had the nations involved really begun to mobilize their scientists and their inventors. In every direction horrible and yet more horrible vistas of engines of destructiveness were appearing.

Submarines, aircraft, poison gas, liquid fire, long range artillery of titanic size, monstrous land battleships—all of these things were but begun in

this war. Almost any one can be made destructive of all organized society if given unrestricted use by one ruthless, imperialist, militarist, individualist nation. Combined they convince all who can reason that the future must choose between peace and chaos.

Not only will any future war be immeasurably more destructive than the bonds of our civilization can withstand; it will surely be another universal war. Nations, no more than individuals, can henceforth live to themselves. The terrible centrifugal character of this war, drawing nation after nation within its whirlpool clutch, proves this. It has taught us that injustice anywhere endangers peace everywhere.

The very distinctive characteristic of the war—that it was the death-grapple of peoples instead of the impact of armies—determines that no future war can be quarantined against by any nation. When commerce, manufacture, shipping, finance, education and every other feature of society must be mobilized, and this in a world where such relations are so closely interwoven across national lines, there can be no neutrals. From this day on any war between great nations will be a war between all nations.

The only alternative is a league of all nations.

America, less blinded by imperialistic visions than older nations, resting upon her creative principles that are now but bearing their full fruitage, is the first nation to set forth the outlines of this new international vision.

Hitherto the world has known no peace save the *pax Romana*. The temple of Janus was closed only upon a conquered world. Just as in society law and order came only when all subjects bowed to the divine right autocrat, just as economy and efficiency in industry came first from monopoly—so, hitherto, war ceased only when one nation ruled all others. All these things are passing. Democracy gives greater social peace and security than autocracy. Coöperation insures more industrial efficiency than monopoly. We are just getting a vision of a peace resting upon a league of nations that shall be more firm and lasting than any established by victorious imperialism.

In 1776 America gave to the world the vision of a nation where “all men are created equal.” We fought twice for the right to build a society patterned on that vision. We are still far from having filled in all the pattern. But we have never entirely forgotten it. Our fight for it helped

to found a new freedom for the English speaking race throughout the world, and lit the fire from which France kindled the conflagration of the great Revolution that set half the world aflame and alight.

The vision of 1918 is but that of 1776 writ large. Woodrow Wilson applied to the world what Thomas Jefferson wrote for the thirteen colonies. As Jefferson faced the doctrine of the divine right of kings with that of the equality of all men, so Wilson confronts the doctrine of the divine right of imperialism with the principle that all nations are created equal, and are endowed with certain inherent rights, among which are independence, self-government and freedom from domination.

This big, globe-embracing extension of international rights and relations brings down to earth the old, old vision of a world without wars. Yet even now when the world has determined upon a league of nations it is possible that the whole vision may be dissipated into thin air because of an attempt to build it without realizing the new conditions which it must meet and the new environment in which it must live.

Unfortunately nearly all the official plans for a League of Nations have been of a negative, re-

pressive police character. They seem to have the one idea of creating an international military force that will be able to keep recalcitrant nations in order.

The British "League of Free Nations Association" is typical in this respect, setting forth the following as the objects of the affiliated nations:

1. To submit all disputes between themselves to methods of peaceful settlement.

2. To suppress jointly, by the use of all means at their disposal, any attempt by any state to disturb the peace of the world by acts of war.

3. To create a supreme court, and to respect and enforce its decisions.

4. To establish a permanent council to supervise and control armaments, to act as a mediator in matters of difference not suitable for submission to the supreme court, to concert measures for joint action in matters political and economic affecting the rights and interests of members of the League.

5. To admit to the League on terms of equality all peoples able and willing to give effective guarantees of their loyal intentions to observe its covenants.

The plan of the American League to Enforce Peace differs but little from that of its British coadjutor, but it has prepared an elaborate "Tentative Draft Convention for a League of Nations," providing for a "Ministry," "Council of Concilia-

tion," "International Court," and prescribing their functions in considerable detail.

Although there are minor clauses and annotations to both these plans that indicate a lurking idea that the League of Nations might have some function beyond that of suppressing unruly members, yet these suggestions are most indefinite and incidental.

There are almost insuperable and self-evident objections that render the establishment and the operation of such a League difficult if not impossible. The common fighting force would be but an added bone of contention. Joint use of economic pressure arouses factions. Courts are not conciliatory bodies. All plans for a "permanent council" whose duties are to be so largely that of balancing powers, meet with great obstacles in the attempt to apportion voting power.

The forward-looking portion of society fears all proposals for an international policeman. It conjures up ghosts of Metternich and the Holy Alliance. There is a fear that it might claim divine right from the god of things-as-they-are, and confine its efforts to maintaining a not always desirable *status quo*.

Such a league was a failure in the nineteenth

century. It is hopelessly out-of-date in the twentieth.

The new League must be created to do work, not simply to prevent evils. It must lead the way, not block the road to progress.

The alliance against Germany was hailed as the beginning of a League of Nations. In so far as it was "against," the illustration is dangerous. This alliance had a host of positive features that might well form the foundation of a league of free and growing peoples.

We know now that the world must be rationed for food and the fundamentals of industry for several years. Millions of people are faced with famine. Belgium, Serbia, Armenia, parts of Poland and Russia must be cared for by great relief associations.

The food supplies of the tropics must be searched out and made available. The whole world must be coördinated and organized for production and distribution. Strenuous efforts to increase supplies of certain articles will be essential for several years after the war. Then will come almost equal danger of unbalanced production due to the momentum of the abnormal war production.

The amount which each nation can export must be ascertained and its destination determined by general agreement. We cannot permit the world to bid without restriction for the food which is insufficient to go around.

This will demand international organization. It will involve the exercise of wide powers. If it were made the central feature of a League of Nations, no member would wish to break away.

Ocean transportation has been mobilized for war. It must be mobilized for peace. Ships cannot be permitted to run whither they wish and profit beckons while the world's tasks are left undone. The clamor for shipping will grow during the first years of peace. Three million tons of wheat were awaiting shipping in Australia when war ended. Iron, cotton, wool, sugar, automobiles, all sorts of tropical products, silks and luxuries of every kind will clamor for shipping.

Every nation involved will demand the quick return of their soldiers from overseas. The millions from America, hundreds of thousands from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and the many millions of English, will all be eager to reach their homes, and those at home will be bending every energy to hasten that return. All this

comes at a time when there is a shortage of 14,000,000 tons in the shipping of the world.

This maddening demand for ship space comes upon a world where a very large percentage of the ships are owned by governments. Unrestrained competition between governments is war.

Long before the war came it was necessary for private vessel owners to enter into international relations and agreements. Such agreements should be under some legal international control. The League of Nations should exercise that control. The commission apportioning shipping, adjusting differences, passing upon pooling agreements and otherwise supervising the rationing of ships as well as food, should be a department of the League of Nations.

But a large section of the navigation of the future will be above the surface of land and water. Here is the revolution which only those who have followed the course of aviation during the war can even partially anticipate. Hundreds of thousands of aërial craft, released by war, will be immediately available for civilian purposes. They will come when a world will be mad for speed, when business will be willing to pay dollars for seconds. There will be titanic establishments

ready to produce aircraft. Invention, leaping from the running start of the war, in this new and still unformulated industry, will continue to move forward as its own products shoot through the air.

We have noticed that the most striking characteristic of the social effects of aviation is due to its three dimension character—that it knows nothing of boundary lines. It is impossible to conceive of any important system of aërial transportation that does not involve international relations. Even before it can be established international arrangements must be made for its regulation. With every increase in speed and carrying capacity the need for such regulation will multiply.

Here again lies one of the explosive points in international relations. There will be some sort of international disarmament follow the peace arrangements. The militarists of all nations, if they are as shrewd as they have been credited with being, will gladly agree to dismantle forts, made useless by long range artillery, to disband fleets, rendered helpless by submarines, abolish submarines themselves as too dangerous to trust in the possession of any nation, reduce the size of standing armies because too expensive to maintain in pro-

portion to the results they will produce. But very little will be said about aircraft, unless to explain that these are necessary to civilian life—which is wholly true.

At the same time every nation controlled by militarism and having imperialist ambitions will at once proceed to concentrate its energies upon aircraft, knowing that it will then be capable, should opportunity offer, to launch a blow so sudden and crushing upon its neighbors, that Germany's leap at Belgium will seem procrastination and gentleness in comparison. Consequently the rivalry once devoted to artillery, warships and infantry equipment will be transferred to aviation. The mammoth aviation concerns that have grown up during the war will be eager to encourage this rivalry, as were their armament prototypes in the years before 1914.

It should be the work of the League of Nations to transform this source of conflict into a bond of unity. An international commission should be created to control the basic inventions that have been produced by associated effort during the war. This commission should create boards of scientific aërial research, coördinating the similar institutions in all nations. The discoveries, improve-

ments and inventions coming from these boards should become the property of the League of Nations, to be used without profit by such manufacturers as were internationally controlled.

This commission, or another of the same character, should supervise the international arrangements for aërial traffic. It would naturally be closely affiliated with the International Postal Union. It must hold close relations with the body controlling international shipping.

An International Aviation Board, having power over the production and operation of the aircraft of the world, would possess a power to enforce peace and punish recalcitrant nations, far beyond what could be conferred by the control of any practicable international armed force. At the same time the service it would perform in time of peace would be a bond drawing the nations closer together and making the danger of any appeal to force far less.

The allied nations are bound together by a network of loans to each other. The work of reparation will complicate these still further. Here there must be international negotiations and directions. These will gain in importance because they will impinge upon another dangerously in-

flammatory point—the financing of economically backward countries. International bodies have already been formed to do this work in China and in some other countries. It is inconceivable that a world that is seeking to remove the incentives to war will fail to insist that hereafter this precedent must be followed in all cases.

If a department of the League of Nations is to handle the funds to be supplied to nations in need of capital, and the constituent nations, and only such nations, are to be invited to participate in such loans, it will once more have substituted a firm and lasting bond of unity for a source of conflict and friction.

This financing of backward countries touches the whole colonial problem. It is impossible longer to avoid an international solution for that problem and the closely allied one of the relation of tropical countries and their products to the civilizations of the temperate zones. That relation has changed in recent years. The interdependence has grown much greater. The complex industrial societies of the temperate zones are now closely dependent upon such tropical products as rubber, sugar, sisal, cocoa, certain fruits, tea and coffee. The exploitation of these products has led to the

worst forms of slavery and outrages upon natives, to the building of unbearable monopolies and to continuous threat of war between rival nations. Along with this close and dangerous interdependence economically has come the knowledge of an equally dangerous interdependence physically. With the tightly interlaced bonds of modern commercial intercourse the world cannot permit any section of the earth to become a breeder of plagues and foul diseases. Hygiene has now become a matter of international care.

In the great continent of Africa another problem arises. In this war both sides were charged with arming the natives. The negro makes a good soldier. With his own leaders, or, still worse, with unscrupulous leaders furnished by interested parties outside, another world conflagration might easily be started in central Africa. It is always to the interest of some one, if to no one save the "gun runner," to supply arms to such populations.

All these questions of the relation of peoples and civilizations can be settled only by international action. The proper body to supervise such action should be the League of Nations. If the

League were engaged in such positive and helpful service for all the peoples of the world it would draw to itself the support of every nation, and exclusion from its privileges would be sufficient discipline to control the belligerent tendencies of any militarist clique.

These are but a few of the common tasks that must be performed by some international body. They are all positive, progressive, uniting in their character.

Such a body would naturally draw to itself the vast strength of the many international scientific organizations now in existence. Knowledge has always refused to recognize national lines. The services of these organizations, dealing with health, geography, chemistry, labor legislation, social insurance, and almost every other field of modern human life, could be commanded by a truly constructive League of Nations. All these are constantly arranging for coöperation between nations. All could be coördinated through any really effective international body.

Such a League of Nations would not begin by asking each affiliated nation to surrender some long exercised function, some dearly cherished,

even if only because of tradition, section of its national sovereignty. It would be built out of the things that are outside, above and across national lines. It would render unto internationalism the things that are international and unto the nations the things that are national.

There would be no fear among progressive peoples that such a League of Nations would become an instrument of reaction. On the contrary it would become a leader of progress, a center for the exchange of opinions, investigation and suggestion. This is a phase whose importance should not be passed over as utopian or doctrinaire. The plan for a repressive, negative, policeman's-club League of Nations is the utopian impossibility. It presupposes a static world. It is based upon the idea that changes in civilizations, boundaries, relative power, functions and ambitions will not come.

But this is a swiftly changing world, and these things are changing, perhaps, most rapidly of all. Any plan that seeks to hold these in check or to ignore them is but piling up explosives which will never wait long for some one to apply the match.

Once these positive functions are being performed and the instruments for their performance

are established (and all these tasks must be done and done by international bodies) it will be easy, if they are still needed, to provide for repressive measures to enforce the peace of the world.

CHAPTER XII

CONSCIOUS CONTINUANCE OF RECONSTRUCTION

THE work of reconstruction did not begin with signing the peace treaty. It began when armies and industry were mobilized in 1914. It has continued every day since. The war has made, unmade and remade nearly every essential feature of our civilization. We once thought of war as purely destructive. It is so to a terrible degree. But we now know that it also creates. As the biologist would say, it is anabolic as well as katabolic.

The war has destroyed much of the old society. Its industrial pillars of competition, private incentive, individual profit and demand and supply have been overthrown. Governmental departments have been shuffled, created and abolished like color combinations in a kaleidoscope. There is no human relation outside its influence.

These institutions have been replaced with new ones. The framework of the coming society is already in existence. We cannot go back, any more

than the French Bourbons could restore the Old Régime. Their example does not encourage experiments in that direction. Our industrial Bourbons might well study their fate. We have plenty of such. Throughout the war legislators and administrators of the "Old Régime" of 1914, now as dead as that of 1787, have sought to surround every war measure with provisions that when the war ended all things should be restored. Such provisions are now but idle obstacles to any intelligent action—"dead hands" clinging clammy to the living present.

We must go forward or stand and paw vainly at progress. We do have the great privilege of choosing between several roads. Now that the world is all in flux we can come closer to molding it to our hearts' desire than mankind has ever been able to do before. If we neglect that opportunity we shall have been as false to the great duty of our generation as we would have been had we failed to resist the final assault of autocracy upon free institutions.

The war is not yet won. It was not won upon the battlefield nor will it be at the peace table. These were but great decisive battles in the war. The loss of either would have lost the war. The



winning of both did not surely bring victory. Unless all of our talk about a death-grapple between autocracy and democracy was but sounding brass to rally the tribe to battle, then the war is not won until we have firmly established democracy upon the ruins of autocracy throughout every social institution.

The knowledge that we can, within quite broad lines, now make of our society what we wish is the biggest lesson of the war. To learn it we have paid a terrible tuition. To reject it or refuse to learn it now would be the most colossal, criminal blunder of all man's history.

In this reconstruction we do not wish blindly to follow fads and utopias. We must be no more bound to the social visions of pre-war days than to the institutions of the same period. The important thing is that there must be comprehensive, intelligent study and sifting of all phases of the subject. We must mobilize for peace as we mobilized for war. Above all else we must mobilize our intelligence.

The task before us is the greatest mankind has ever attempted. To it must be brought the best of thought and deed of which the race is capable. There must be the same comprehensive, intelligent

direction of reconstruction that there was of war.

Our allies recognize this. England, France, Belgium and Italy are all working on the problem of reconstruction. Great Britain has proceeded further than the others, although she is still groping for methods.

Great Britain has created a Ministry of Reconstruction. Under this are fifteen committees, each one devoted to some special phase of the coming society. The most important of these are: Trade Development, Finance, Raw Materials, Coal and Power, Intelligence, Scientific and Industrial Research, Demobilization and Disposal of Stores, Labor and Employment, Agriculture and Forestry, Public Administration, Housing, Education, Aliens, Legal and Miscellaneous.

Each one of these committees has several subdivisions. In all, eighty-seven boards, sub-committees and commissions had been created when the latest report available was made. On these committees are to be found the ablest men and women in industry, organized labor, politics, education and almost every other walk of life. Reference has been made repeatedly to some of the revolutionary proposals which these committees have unanimously endorsed.

A glance at some apparently incidental remarks of these committees will show how far-reaching is the program which is taken for granted. The committee on "Acquisition and Valuation of Land for Public Purposes" opens its discussion with this comment:

In approaching the general question of the acquisition of land for public purposes, it seems desirable to envisage clearly and comprehensively the general situation which will arise in this regard during the period of National Reconstruction following the end of the War. Large schemes for providing Housing accommodations will have to be taken by certain Public Departments and Local Authorities. Extensive proposals for the development of Agriculture and Forestry, and for the reclamation or drainage of land, will form an essential part of the Reconstruction policy of the Government.

Not less important for the revival and encouragement of productive industry will be the provision of effectual and well coördinated means of transport and access to natural and mineral resources. The increased use of electricity and water power as natural sources of energy, and the approaching development of aviation for commercial purposes, will give rise to many novel problems of importance to the Nation's productive capacity.

For all these purposes as well as for the ordinary purposes of National Defense and administration, it will be essential that the particular pieces of land most suitable for the particular purposes should be made available for use in the Public interest.

Underlying every report is the tacit and undisputed assumption that Great Britain is preparing consciously, systematically and with the application of all available knowledge to create upon the ruins and from the new material furnished by the war, a new social order.

It seems to be the opinion of all who have joined in this most thorough study of the problem yet made that the view set forth by the British Labor Party in its remarkable war program is correct, where it says:

What has to be reconstructed after the war is not this or that Government department, or this or that piece of social machinery, but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself.

The individualist system of capitalist production, based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage-slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life and its hypocritical pretense of the "survival of the fittest"; with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces and the degradation and brutalization, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom, may, we hope, indeed have received a death blow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression.

This program, by far the most thoroughgoing

tage under leading educators and business men from the United States."

This sounds revolutionary. It is not even new. It seemed so because few were aware that Great Britain and her colonies were doing this for at least two years before the war ended. Although under a strain that tested every resource, with one person in every seven in uniform, with her financial powers strained to the verge of bankruptcy, Britain and her self-governing colonies realized that, if they were to recover, her human material must be given every opportunity to develop all its abilities.

The best educators from Oxford and Cambridge, the trained organizers and conductors of extension courses, with their colleagues from Canada, Australia and New Zealand have formed great "Overseas Universities." Men on leave have been required to devote their time to study. Wounded in the hospitals are assigned readings and given examinations as soon as their health permits. This work continues through the convalescent camps. It has been found to hasten recovery, and give an incentive to work such as is much needed by injured soldiers. It means that millions have been brought in touch with higher education to

whom that privilege has hitherto been denied. It is one more step toward that conscription for education which is a part of the vision of the future.

The United States is preparing a similar program. All of the organizations concerned in the education and amusement of the American Expeditionary Force are, as this is written, asking for greater expenditures than those proposed for the years of war. They are right. The problems of peace are greater, because more complex, than those of war. If we shirk them we shall have thrown away the victory the blood of the peoples has purchased.

During the time American soldiers must remain in Europe they will be given such educational opportunities as only the most wealthy could have secured in this country. They will come back with a training and education that will multiply their power politically as well as industrially.

When these men reach their homes other problems will press. At least three times the number of men and women in the armed forces will be in process of discharge from war industries. We shall not permit these two armies to fight for jobs. Both must be remobilized into industry.

Labor in all the warring countries has demanded

that no man shall be discharged as a soldier until a place is ready for him as a worker. England has already arranged to discharge her soldiers in the order of their occupations. Those most needed will be released first. Every soldier is to be transferred directly to industry. If there is no place ready for him he is to receive separation allowance until a place is found. This will insure the speedy finding of places. To do this it is proposed to organize armies of workmen for building, for public works of various kinds and for agricultural and forestry projects.

The classified draft records a man's occupation. In many cases he will have been trained in a new and more productive one while in the army. In either case the information required for effective handling of demobilization is available. The National War Labor Board and the United States Employment Service will both be needed for this work. England is also preparing to make wide use of the unions. Her public men and employers, as well as her working-class, have come to see that labor organizations are an essential part of the social organization while the wage system remains.

This problem of demobilization offers one new

and excellent reason for the retention by the government of such industries as peace found it possessing. Industry must henceforth be so regulated that a time of industrial depression shall be a time of public production. At such times a previously prepared plan of building, reclamation, extension and production for storage must be introduced. The Reconstruction Committee of Great Britain is unanimous in recommending such action. No other nation can remain behind, and none will so remain.

When our soldiers come back from France they will not be unthinking raw material without minds of their own. They will be citizens. They will be quite the largest body of uniform public opinion and voting power this nation has known. They will be in touch with their fellow-soldiers of other nations. They will be closely connected with the millions of organized laborers throughout the world. It would be well to remember this when planning demobilization and reconstruction.

Stupendous masses of material as well as millions of men must be demobilized. The government is operating the railways, telegraphs and telephones and the largest shipyards ever built. It owns the largest fleet of ships in the world. It

is building whole cities of houses. It has vast munition works. It possesses, in various forms and stages of manufacture, the largest stocks of steel and copper in the world. Industry everywhere will be clamoring for this material.

The Bourbons will be in hysteric haste to sell all to the lowest bidder. Let us at least demand that no steps be taken without careful consideration. Many things are more valuable in social than private possession.

The control of the railways simultaneously with the ownership of great fleets of trucks and automobiles, suggests the possibility of a uniform system of transportation. But we are just learning that air as well as land and water must be coördinated in any real system of transportation, and that such a system is closely related to the transmission of intelligence by telegraph or telephone, with or without wires. Now the war placed in the hands of society nearly all aircraft and control of all other means of transportation and communication. The changes which the inter-relation of all these things bring must be carefully considered before any one of them is permitted to pass into the competitive, profit-seeking control that might disorganize the operation of all the others.

We have seen that educational evolution points to a great extension of productive work in connection with instruction. We dare not trust the chance of wrecking this portion of the vision by removing from the society that will surely control education the industrial plant essential to the school of the future.

The nation, as a result of the war, is just entering upon a uniform and elaborate system of industrial hygiene. The knitting of this to a system of education and industry, without which all will be confronted with infinitely greater difficulties, requires close control and wide operation of industry by society.

The war has taught us that amusement is an essential of even such grim business as fighting. It should teach us that pleasure in work and education, instruction in work and amusement, with amusement in learning and laboring are all but different sides of the same shield. We have organized play for millions. We have built up a marvelous machine for socializing joy, work and national defense. We cannot afford to lose this machine. Our wide flung system, embracing the Y. M. C. A., K. of C., and all the Camp Activities, for the purpose of bringing wholesome, healthful,

helpful amusement to millions, should be carried over into civil life.

The problem of demobilization is one of remobilization. It is to bring together for peace that social synthesis we created for war. To do this we will need even larger and better machinery than we used for war. Generals, with skill in the strategy of handling men, machinery and social institutions, greater than any that served in France will be required.

There will be a place for all the organizations we brought into existence during the war. The whole system of voluntary bodies, such as the Councils of Defense, should apply their energies to these problems. Here is need of a new patriotism that will demand all the devotion invoked to call men to arms.

Here is a task of education such as the world has never attempted. It will call for all the skill of our universities and colleges and of all those who have, in the past, enjoyed their privileges. As these have applied themselves to the solution of the problems of war, so they must now devote redoubled energies to the problems of peace.

Every agency that has been mobilized for the education of the people to the issues of the war

should be at once turned to a consideration of the greater questions inherent in the creation of a new society—or rather to the development of the new society that was born when the world was in the travail of war.

The masses came at the call to a crusade. We know now that they gave their lives freely because they believed this to be the final death-grapple between autocracy and democracy, between tyranny and freedom. They will not be cheated of that for which they fought.

They came because they saw, on the other side the bloody abyss, that vision for which they had always fought—a world without war, poverty, preventible disease, idle rulers, ill paid workers, ignorance and hopeless toiling millions.

They fought to build the road to a society in which peoples should determine their own destiny in governments and in all things that concern the common good, in which the fountains of knowledge should flow freely forever, in which work shall be creative, joyful education and in which there shall be plenty both of leisure and of labor, and of the products of labor for all.

From that vision for which we fought we shall not now be turned back.

THE END

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